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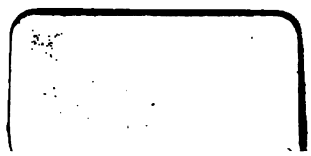

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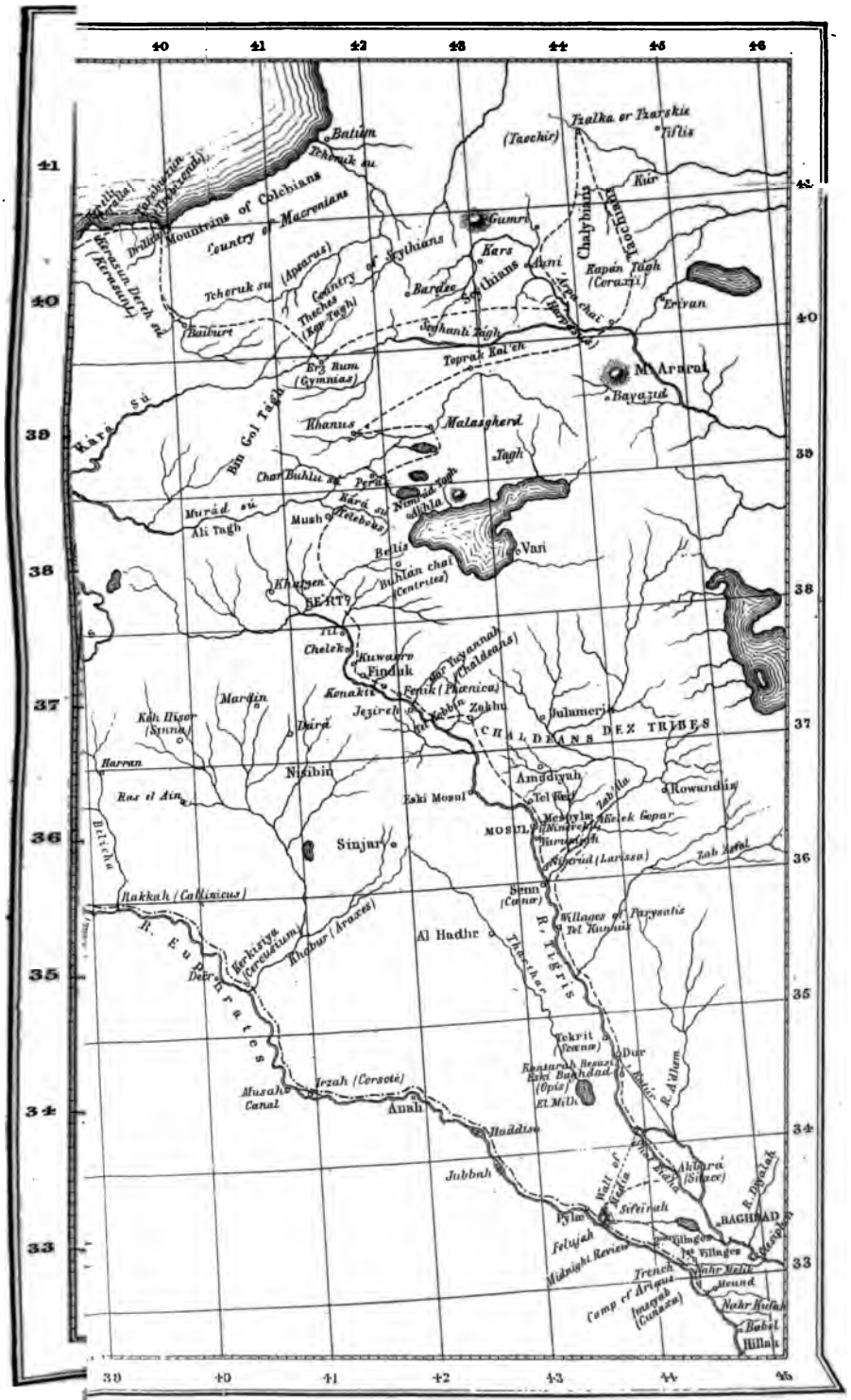

Batum
Tcheruk su
Mountains of Colchians
Country of Macronians
Tcheruk su (Apsarus)
Country of Scythians
Theches (Kop Tagh)
Bardes
Scythians
Gumri
Kars
Auni
Chalybians
Taochians
Tzalka or Tzarskie
Tiflis
(Taochir)
Kur
Kapan Tagh (Coraxii)
Erivan
Arpa chai
Harpasus
Seghanli Tagh
Toprak Kal'eh
Mt Ararat
Bayazid
Bin Gol Tagh
Khanus
Malasghord
Tagh
Char Buhlu su
Pera
Kara su
Nimrud Tagh
Akhla
Murad su
Ali Tagh
Mush
Bellis
Van
Buhlan chai (Centrites)
Khatsen
SERT
Chelek
Kuwasro
Finduk
Konakti
Fenik (Phœnica)
Mar Yuyannah (Chaldeans)
Jezireh
Zakhu
Julameria
CHALDEANS DEZ TRIBES
Mardin
Kah Hisor (Sinna)
Dara
Harran
Nisibin
Ras el Ain
Amadiyah
Rowandiz
Eski Mosul
Tel Kef
Zab'ala
Mespylæ (Ninevek)
Kelek Gopar
MOSUL
Nimrud (Larissa)
Zab Asfal
Belicha
Sinjar
Senn (Cœnæ)
Rakkah (Callinicus)
Kerkisiya (Cercusium)
Khabur (Araxes)
Al Hadhr
Tharthar
R. Tigris
Villages of Parysatis
Tel Kunnus
R. Euphrates
Deer
Tekrit (Scœnæ)
Dur
Kontarah Resasi
Eski Baghdad (Opis)
El Milh
Kutur
R. A'dhem
Irzah (Corsote)
Musah Canal
Anah
Haddisa
Jubbah
Akbara (Sitace)
Wall of Media
Sifeirah
Pylæ
Felujah
Midnight Review
Villages
1st Villages
Nahr Melik
Trench
Camp of Ariaqus
Mound
Nahr Kufah
Babel
Hillah
R. Diyalah
Resiphon

TRAVELS

IN THE

TRACK OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS;

BEING A

GEOGRAPHICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT

OF THE

EXPEDITION OF CYRUS

AND OF

THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS,

AS RELATED BY XENOPHON.

By WILLIAM F. AINSWORTH, F.G.S., F.R.G.S.,

SURGEON TO THE LATE EUPHRATES EXPEDITION;
AUTHOR OF *ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA, AND CHALDEA*;
TRAVELS IN ASIA MINOR, &c.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XLIV.

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PREFACE.

It has been truly remarked, in discussing the results of the eventful battle of Cunaxa, that had victory attended the steps of the Greeks we should then have been without the *Anabasis*, the choicest piece of ancient military history, and fairly 'worth the history of all the Persian dynasties since that period.' The same high authority and distinguished geographer, Major Rennell, who makes this remark, has also pronounced the Expedition, taken in all its parts, as perhaps 'the most splendid of all the military events that have been recorded in ancient history;' and it is acknowledged at all hands to have been rendered no less interesting and impressive in the description, by the happy mode of relating it.

This celebrated Expedition of the younger Cyrus, and still more the Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, by revealing the weakness of Persia, further paved the way to the overthrow of that vast empire: strong, as Xenophon remarks, with regard to the extent of country and numbers of men, but weak by reason of the great distance of places, and the division of its forces; and it thus assisted, as Archdeacon Wilberforce points out (*The Five Empires, &c.*, pp. 113, 149), in the accomplishment of the promises of God, as made in the prophecies of Daniel, and prepared the way for the third of the great empires which were to precede the coming of the Saviour of mankind.

But this remarkable work has been read, and its geographical details have been either taken for granted, or referred to proximate delineations of territory and places, which communicated to the mind anything but a sensible or positive satisfaction in tracing the progress of the armies. In many cases the reader was compelled, after much examination, to take for granted what the mind naturally required to be verified; and in others, to forego all enquiry as entirely hopeless.

A reader of modern military history would regard as very imperfect a work which would be found deficient in the necessary details of geography. In books of travel the defect would be felt still more. The Anabasis, independent of its merits arising from the grandeur of the subject, the high reputation of its author, and the military exploits which it records (offering in these a remarkable contrast to the recent campaign of Affghanistan), contains a great variety of incident to recommend it: it combines with the character of a military history, that of a book of travel likewise; and if military operations generally receive their character from the nature of the ground on which they are performed, how much more must they do so when combined with a lengthened journey through hostile countries, and amid inclement seasons! Nor can the mind be satisfied except when such details are accompanied by representations and descriptions, which at once serve to render manifest the several movements, and to develop the causes which led to them.

The present illustrator of the Anabasis has by accident enjoyed advantages possessed by no other person,

of following at intervals the whole line of this celebrated Expedition, from the plain of Caystrus, and the Cilician gates, through Syria down the Euphrates, to the field of Cunaxa, and of again travelling in the line of the still more memorable retreat across the plains of Babylonia and Media by Larissa and Mes-Pylæ, and thence through the well-defended passes of the Tigris and Kurdistan, to the cold elevated uplands of Armenia, which were the scene of so many disasters and so much suffering to the Greeks. Then again, from Trebizond westward he has visited on various parts of the coast of Asia Minor localities to which an interest is given by the notices of the Athenian historian, independent of their own importance as ancient sites or colonies; and where he has not been personally on that part of the route, as well as in the localities of the first assembling the troops under Cyrus, the researches of W. J. Hamilton, Pococke, Arundel, and others, fully fill up the slight deficiencies which might otherwise occur. Indeed, out of a journey evalued by the historian at three thousand four hundred and sixty-five miles altogether, there is not above six hundred miles that the illustrator has not personally explored.

It was his original intention to have embodied what researches were connected with this Expedition and Retreat, into his *Travels*; but there were two insuperable objections to that proceeding: first, that mere geographical details, separated from the text, would possess little or no interest to the general reader. It is also this consideration which has led him to join to the illustrations a brief and concise narrative of events, following in all cases the historian himself as closely as

possible, so that whilst obliged to abbreviate, he should still neither maim nor distort the original; and to avoid the supposition of modernizing the version to his own views, he has followed the translation of Spelman, which is used in a similar enquiry by Major Rennell, and by Mr. Baillie Fraser, and which is indeed generally admitted in this country; but at the same time, where the circumstances imperiously demanded it, he has had recourse to explanations derived from the original, as given by Hutchinson, and in more recent times by Long.

The second objection was, that the different countries traversed by the Greeks were visited by the author at different times: North Syria and the Euphrates were explored during his employment with the Euphrates Expedition, from 1835 to 1837; the Tigris, Larissa, and Mes-Pylæ, on a return-journey from Baghdad, in 1837; Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, in the autumn of 1839; Mesopotamia in the winter of 1840; part of Upper Tigris to Eskí Mósul in the summer; and the passes of Kurdistan, the 'Alí Ṭágh or Niphates, and the uplands of Armenia, in the autumn of the same year. The earlier of these journeys were performed when employed by the Royal Geographical Society, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Many of the districts herein included have been the scene of the researches of others; and even on the Tigris Captain Lynch had, previous to 1840, descended that river on a raft from Diyár Bekr to Mósul; but the illustrator was the first European who succeeded in crossing the mountain-passes of Kurdistan on the Tigris by land, and that only after the failure of a first attempt made in 1837.

The illustrator is sanguine in his hopes that such a work will prove useful and acceptable; and that it may even render a history, the excellency and beauty of which have been household themes for centuries, more approachable and more easily followed than heretofore. The various attempts which have been made by the learned of all countries to effect what is now offered to the public, testify to the want that was experienced. Among the most prominent of these may be mentioned the great quarto work of Major Rennell[1], the labors of Delisle[2], of D'Anville[3], and of Gosselin[4]; the Geographical Dissertation of Forster, appended to Spelman's Translation; and the *Index Geographicus* attached to Hutchinson's Xenophon; not to mention the multiple commentaries of Leunclavius, Stephanus, Larcher, Capellus, Al Porti, Mureti, D'Ablancourt, Spelman, Mannert[5], Cramer[6], Baillie Fraser[7], and others.

The aspect which Xenophon is made to assume in his modern dress is most remarkable. If the *Index Geographicus*, published in 1745, be consulted, it will be found that not one in ten sites is identified with an existing position or ruin, while in the present day, scarcely one in ten is wanting in immediate identification. This

[1] Illustrations of the History of the Expedition of Cyrus, &c. 4to. London, 1816.

[2] Détermination Géographique, &c. Mém. de l'Académie Royale. An. 1720.

[3] L'Euphrate et le Tigre. 4to. Paris. 1779.

[4] Récherches sur la Géographie des Anciens. Par P. F. Gosselin. 4to. Paris.

[5] Géographie des Grecs et des Romains.

[6] Asia Minor. 2 vols. 8vo.

[7] Mesopotamia and Assyria, (Edin. Cabinet Library.) A work which contains much original information, as well as valuable criticism.

is to be attributed, however, as much to the spirit of investigation that has lately poured into Western Asia, as to the labors of the illustrator, and still more than all to the extraordinary advantages of investigation presented by a first navigation of the Euphrates by the expedition under Colonel Chesney.

Without referring to the valuable, but no longer recent researches of Pococke, Arundel, Chandler, Leake, Kinneir, Keppel, Tournefort, Olivier, and others, it is necessary to distinctly acknowledge the assistance derived from the excellent map of the Tigris by Captain Lynch; from the additions made to the geography of Armenia by Mr. Consul Brant; from Colonel Rawlinson's researches into the history and antiquities of the Ḳáṭúr or Nahr-wán canal, and which have led the author to change his opinions in regard to the positioning of Sitace and Opis, as well as of the river Physcus, as formerly advanced by him, in accordance with the views entertained by Colonel Taylor and Mr. Surgeon Ross of Baghdad, and by Captain Lynch; and from Mr. W. J. Hamilton's able identification of Tyana, the same gentleman's proximate positioning of Cerasus, and his archæological and other details concerning Sardis, Colossæ, and Celænæ.

The author has endeavoured to give in the Appendix to the history a view of the ancient notices of the different geographical positions and the modern authorities for their actual condition and identification. This obviates any other acknowledgements which might be deemed necessary; but however important each locality in this very remarkable narrative is in itself, these identifications

effected by a few learned travellers, and even the exploration of the passes of the mountain-chains of Kurdistan, and the unravelling of the Cilician and Syrian Gates (*Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. VIII. part 2nd) by the illustrator, sink into insignificance when compared to the importance of fixing the different points visited by Cyrus on his descent of the 'Great River,' and without which it would have been impossible to undertake the present task. The illustrator has a feeling of pride and pleasure in acknowledging himself indebted for these points to the liberality of Colonel Chesney, whose own great work on the Euphrates has been delayed by unforeseen circumstances, but who on that account would never put difficulties in the way of executing any of the numerous detailed enquiries which have sprung from that recent remarkable Expedition into countries so fraught with historical reminiscences of the highest interest and importance.

It is necessary further to remark, that the value accepted for the ancient measures is such as was proposed to the Royal Geographical Society, by Major Jervis, of the Indian Survey (*Athenæum*, No. 150): this value is founded upon the admitted theory, that the ancient measures formed an integral portion of the earth's circumference; the Jewish Parsah, Persian Farsakh, and the Greek Parasang, being the $\frac{1}{8000}$th of that circumference, or equal to 5468.688 yards, and the Greek or Roman stadium as 607.62977 feet.

The president of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Hamilton, sen. has, in his anniversary address for the year 1838, advocated the universality of the value of

the stadium, and Colonel Leake, in a memoir expressly devoted to the consideration of the subject, has also admitted the stade as uniformly composed of 600 Greek feet, of which there were 600 to a degree of 60 geographical miles, presenting us with nearly the same results. These values thus deduced have, however, only been admitted after numerous practical applications, which proved their efficacy and truth, but which would be tedious to detail here at length. For brevity's sake the fractions have been omitted, and the parasang considered equal to three geographical miles of 1822 yards each, and the stadium as ten to one geographical mile, which gives us results as accurate as the means of determining the distances traversed by the historian of the Anabasis himself, or the comparisons instituted by the present and other illustrators, often made in rude mountainous districts, and in countries explored under adverse circumstances, can be possibly expected to present us with.

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THE

EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK FIRST.

THE conquest of Babylon, and the overthrow of the last of the Chaldæo-Babylonian kings, in the person of the Belshazzar[1] of the Chaldeans and Jews, the Labynedus of Herodotus, and Nabonadius or Nabonoredus of others, by Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian monarchy; dated 536 or 538 years before Christ. The conquest of Anterior Asia, and the capture of Crœsus, the last of the Lydian kings, following upon the defeat of Astyages, and the overthrow of the Medo-Bactrian empire, had occurred about nineteen years before this event.

Between Cyrus the Great and Cyrus the younger, to whom the expedition with the ten thousand Greeks relates, there reigned Cambyses from the year 529 B.C. to 522 B.C.; Darius I. 522 B.C. to 486 B.C.; Xerxes I. (Ahasuerus) 486 ~~416~~ B.C. to 465 B.C.; Artaxerxes I. 465 B.C. to 424 B.C.; and Darius II. (Nothus) 423 B.C. to 404 B.C. Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), brother to Cyrus the younger, succeeded to the throne in the year 405 B.C., and the battle of Cunaxa took place in the year 401 B.C.

The ordinary residence of the kings of the Acheminide (Jemshíd), or Persian dynasty, was Babylon; to which was connected Susa, and as the sepulture of the dynasty, Takhti-Jemshíd, the Persepolis of the Greeks. Takhti-Sulcïmán, the Ecbatana of Atropatene, had been the capital of the Medo-Bactrian empire.

[1] Some historians identify Belshazzar with Evil-Merodach, murdered by Neriglissar, B.C. 553; others, again, with Neriglissar himself.

The sons of Darius II. (Nothus) by Parysatis were two, of whom Artaxerxes was the elder, and Cyrus the younger; but Artaxerxes was born before his father's accession to the throne, which by Persian custom gave to Cyrus, who was born after the accession, a claim to the regal title, and he was supported in this claim by his mother Parysatis. Darius being sick, and apprehensive of his approaching end, desired both his sons to attend him. Artaxerxes being then present, he sent for Cyrus from the government with which he had invested him as satrap, having appointed him general of all the people who assemble on the plain of Castolus.

Several commentators upon Xenophon's history have been inclined to read Pactolus for Castolus, and although this reading has not been borne out by any hitherto discovered copy, still, from the neighbourhood of that river to Sardis, where the expedition originated, its importance in the geography of Lydia, the great plains which characterize its basin, if we include with it the Hermus, and its gold-bearing celebrity,

"τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλόν ἔυχρυσον."
Soph. *Philoc.* 394.

"Pactolusque irrigat auro."
Virgil, Lib. x. vers. 142.

it appears most likely to be the district alluded to. The probability of this identification is rendered the more probable, when we consider that, with the exception of one author who notices a town in Lydia called Castolus, there is no authority among the early geographers for the existence of either plain, river, or town, throughout Lesser Asia, bearing that name. The Pactolus is now represented by a small stream, which descends from the ancient mount Tmolus, and flows past the Ionic temple of Cybele, by the west side of the ruins of Sardis.

At the period of the first arrival of the younger Cyrus in Asia Minor, the war of twenty-seven years was raging between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians; the Athe-

nians under Alcibiades were in the ascendant, and Mindarus, distrustful of Tissaphernes, who ruled as satrap in southern peninsular Asia, had allied himself with Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap of the northern districts. The skilful Lysander won over the young prince to the cause of Sparta, but the republican pride of his successor Callicratidas for a time alienated his affections. Byzantium had been reduced by the Athenians in the year 408 B. C., but in 406, Lysander, the Lacedæmonian, gained upon them the last and definite naval victory at Ægos-Potamos on the Hellespont. The city of Athens itself fell before the victorious Lysander in 404 B. C., and its government became an oligarchy of thirty tyrants. The ensuing year (403 B. C.) this government was destroyed by Thrasybulus, assisted by a party in Sparta itself; and the year of the battle of Cunaxa, (401 B.C.), Agesilaus II. seized upon the royal dignity; an usurpation which historians have forgiven him, when following in the career of heroic exploits which characterized his reign.

In the year 404 B. C., and the year preceding the fall of Athens, Cyrus had gone to Babylon at the demand of his father, and after his death, and the accession of Artaxerxes, became engaged in a conspiracy against his brother, in which he was abetted by his mother Parysatis; but being denounced (according to Xenophon) by Tissaphernes, he was only saved from the punishment of death by the intercession of his mother.

The same year Cyrus returned to his government in Asia Minor, with a mind exasperated by failure and disgrace, and deeply bent on revenge. In the resolution to repair the disappointment of private treason by open hostility, he addressed himself to the Lacedæmonians, who cheerfully espoused his quarrel. In order to levy an army with the greatest possible secrecy, that he might find the king unprepared to resist him, as he recruited the garrisons that were dispersed in the several cities under his command, he ordered each of their officers to enlist as

many Greeks as possible, and of those the best men they could get, under pretence that Tissaphernes had a design upon those cities. He also took great care of the native or Asiatic troops, (always designated by Xenophon as barbarians), so as to render them both good soldiers, and affectionate to his service.

Tissaphernes had formerly held all the cities of Ionia, but at this time they had, with the exception of Miletus, revolted from him to Cyrus. Miletus was a considerable city of Ionia, situated not far from the mouth of the Mæander, and inhabited at the time of the Trojan war, according to Homer, by the Carians, whom the poet mentions as among the allies of Troy. It became so great a city, as to be designated by Pliny the chief place of Ionia, and Mela describes it, as in Ionia the chief seat of the evils of peace and war. It was rebuilt by Alexander, having only been reduced by the Macedonian hero with great difficulty. This city, which was also the birth-place of Thales and Anaximander, is now represented by the ruins of Palatia, close to which are two columns crossed by their architrave, all that remains of the temple of Apollo Didymæus, or of Branchidæ.

Tissaphernes having notice of the intention of the inhabitants of Miletus to revolt to Cyrus, put some of them to death, and banished others; these Cyrus received, and raising an army, besieged Miletus both by sea and land. Thus he made another pretence for raising an army; and sending to the king, he desired that, as he was his brother, he might have the command of these cities rather than Tissaphernes. In this also he was assisted by his mother, so that the king was not aware of the design that was formed against him, but looking upon these preparations as directed against Tissaphernes, was under no concern at their making war upon one another: for Cyrus sent the king all the taxes that were raised in those cities which had been under the government of Tissaphernes. It is impossible not to remark here the

close similarity of practices which obtained in these countries in remote times, and also in the present day. The disputes between two pashas are often overlooked by the sultan, so long as the conqueror sends in the tribute to the Sublime Porte.

Cyrus had also another army raised for him in the Chersonesus, over against Abydus, by Clearchus. This chieftain, who makes a considerable figure in the expedition, had been sent by the Lacedæmonians to subdue the inhabitants of Byzantium, who were divided into factions, but having taken part with the Byzantines, he was recalled by the ephori, and, refusing to obey their orders, they sent Panthœdas with some troops to force him to a submission. Clearchus was defeated, and obliged to fly to Ionia, where he was received with open arms by Cyrus, who made him a present of a large sum of money, with which he raised an army, and, marching out of the Chersonesus, made war upon the Thracians, who inhabit above the Hellespont, which induced the cities upon the Hellespont to subsist his forces with greater cheerfulness.

Thus was this army secretly maintained for his service. Aristippus of Thessaly, between whom and Cyrus there was an intercourse of hospitality, or relations of friendship, being oppressed by a faction in his own principality, came to him, requesting the assistance of two thousand mercenaries, and their pay for three months, in the hope of subduing his adversaries. Cyrus granted him four thousand men, and six months pay, and in this manner the army in Thessaly was also privately maintained for his use. At the same time he ordered Proxenus the Bœotian, a friend of his, to attend with all the men he could raise, giving it out that he designed to make war against the Pisidians, a mountaineer people, who were troublesome neighbours both to Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, and who then infested the satrapy of Cyrus. He also ordered Sophænetus the Stymphalian, and Socrates the Achaian, to come to him with as many men as they could raise,

pretending to make war upon Tissaphernes, in conjunction with the banished Milesians. These also obeyed his commands.

Having now determined to march into the Upper Asia, he pretended his design was to drive the Pisidians entirely out of the country; and for this purpose he assembled his troops at Sardis.

Sardis was the capital of Lydia, and the seat of its kings. The Lydians, or Meonians, were a branch of the race of people of Caria. Herodotus notices three dynasties in Lydia: that of Atyades, till 1225 A. C.; that of the Heraclides till 720 A. C.; and that of the Mermnades till 550 A. C. But the two first dynasties are generally considered to be almost entirely fabulous, and it is only with the last that commences the true history of Lydia. The last king was Crœsus, who reigned till 557 B. C. He conquered Ephesus, and subjugated Asia Minor as far as to the Halys, but was himself besieged in his capital, and taken prisoner in it by Cyrus the Great, after a siege of fourteen days. Lydia then became a Persian satrapy.

Sardis was after the Persian conquest set on fire by the Ionians, which was the pretence afterwards made use of by Xerxes for burning the temples of the Greeks. It was after this period, seventy years before the Macedonian conquest, and the overthrow of the Persian Empire, and 402 years before Christ, that Cyrus the younger assembled his troops in this city.

Strabo writes Σαρδεις, or Sardes; Xenophon and Polybius use the same orthography, but Herodotus writes Σαρδις. The same diversity exists among the Latins. Cicero and Livy writing Sardes, Pliny, Horace, and Ovid, Sardis. It was also called by the Gentiles Sardianus[1].

With the exception of a few black tents of Yurúks,

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[1] The references made and authorities quoted here and elsewhere in the text, are, to avoid repetition, given in the Appendix, under the head of each geographic position.

or wandering Turkomans, the only habitation described by travellers as existing at Sardis, now called Sárt, is that of a Greek miller, who has taken advantage of one of the streams which flow past the Acropolis to turn the wheel of his mill.

Among the most ancient ruins of the place, are two gigantic Ionic columns and other huge fragments that lie about, and mark the site of the great temple of Cybele. Massive marble fragments of another building also belong to an equally remote date. Many other remains are scattered over the area of this ancient town; amongst which the most remarkable is the so-called Gerusia, situated near the western limits of the city, partly built of brick and partly of stone, but of a late period.

There are also remains of a theatre of Roman construction, built of loose rubble, except the wings of the cavea, which are faced with stone; the marble seats, the proscenium and scena, are all gone. Immediately in front, and crossing it at right angles, are the remains of the stadium, the northern side of which has been artificially formed by a wall supported on arches running along the side of the hill.

The remains of the Acropolis consist of walls, and the gateways of a fortress, apparently Byzantine, and made up chiefly of ancient fragments. The Acropolis is being rapidly destroyed by the continual abrasion of rains and torrents. The whole of the ancient summit is gone, with the exception of a narrow ridge defended by a double wall and perpendicular precipices, with a few detached pinnacles, only preserved from destruction by the fragments of broken walls still remaining on them. But even these are partly undermined; and a few more centuries of winter-torrents and the parching suns of summer, will bring them also to a level with the valley below; thus the whole will gradually crumble away, and bury in its fall the few remaining ruins of ancient Sardis.

The views from the lofty summit of the Acropolis are

highly illustrative of ancient descriptions. To the north, the Hermus winding through its rich plain, is backed by distant hills and the broad expanse of the Gygæan lake. To the south are the snow-capped peaks of Mount Tmolus; while the deep intermediate space is broken into many hills and dales, either cultivated or covered with flourishing brush-wood; at the same time the broken and rugged line of sand-hills which skirt the base of Mount Tmolus, is prolonged to a distance both east and west.

Near the bottom of the hill are the ruins of two churches which belong to the early ages of christianity. The lowest of them consists of several handsome marble piers supporting brick arches; but the greater part of the brick-work is gone, enough only remaining to shew the spring of the arches. It is nearly two hundred feet long, its greatest length being from east to west, and having a semicircular termination, like the bema of the Greek churches, at both ends, but which does not appear externally. The other, higher up the hill, consisted also of brick arches raised upon six marble piers, made up entirely of architectural fragments plundered from former buildings. Corinthian and Ionic mouldings, shafts of columns, friezes, architraves, and fragments of entablatures, are all worked up together with a large quantity of cement: but four only of these piers are now standing.

Arundel and other travellers have seen in these ruins the remains of the church of Sardis, which is noticed by name in the Revelation of St. John, and so they must be, if viewed as the existing representation of the community of christians therein established; but independently of the fact that the allusion made in the Apocalypse refers to the community of christians, and not to any particular edifice, still even these remains did not belong to that time, but must have been, as shewn by Mr. W. J. Hamilton, from the nature of their structure, at least posterior to the overthrow of paganism, and the destruction of the temples, towards the end of the fourth century.

About forty stadia or four geographic miles north of Sardis according to Strabo, but nearly eight miles in Mr. Hamilton's map, and upon a low ridge of limestone-hills that rise above the reed-environed lake of Gygæus, is situated the Necropolis of the ancient kings of Lydia, a collection of gigantic mounds or tumuli, three of which are distinguished by their superior size, but the largest of which is generally designated as the tomb of Halyattes, the father of Crœsus, who reigned till 571 A. C. This χῶμα or mound was, according to Herodotus (lib. I. cap. 93), six stadia or 1215.258 yards in circumference, and it took Mr. H. ten minutes to ride round its base, which he computes to be near half a mile. The Greek historian also describes the mound as made up of earth piled upon a stone foundation, and Mr. H. found it to be composed towards the north of natural rock, a white horizontally stratified earthy limestone cut away so as to appear part of the structure, and in the upper portion of sand and gravel, apparently brought from the bed of the Hermus. This structure, half natural, half artificial, of the Tepehs of the Turks and Tels of the Arabs, that abound throughout western Asia, is very common, and is a sufficient answer to the supposed natural origin, from aqueous currents, that has sometimes been solely assigned to them. The ancient Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Babylonians alone, appear to have constructed these mounds of sun-dried tiles or bricks bearing inscriptions. Both Assyrians and Syrians also sometimes surrounded them with colossal stones irregularly piled one upon another, as at Ak Deyávín and Tel Báshír, in the Syrian district of Haïlán, 'the powerful' north of Aleppo, and at Hór's-abad on the plain of Adiabene.

Several deep ravines have been worn by time and weather on the sides of the tumulus of Halyattes, and on the summit are the remains of a foundation nearly eighteen feet square, on the north of which was a huge circular stone ten feet in diameter, with a flat bottom

and a raised edge or lip, evidently placed as an ornament on the apex of the tumulus, one of the phalli, perhaps, to which Herodotus alludes; but Mr. Strickland, a good observer, thought that a rude representation of the human face might be traced on its weather-beaten surface.

It is impossible to look upon this collection of gigantic mounds without being struck with the power and enterprise of the people by whom they were erected, and without admiring the energies of the nation who endeavoured to preserve the memory of their kings and ancestors by means of such rude and lasting monuments. There can be little doubt, although the treasures of the proverbially wealthy Crœsus were carried off at the fall of the Lydian monarch, to enrich the Ecbatana of Atropatene, that an exploration of the interior of these royal sepulchres would well reward the speculator or the antiquary.

At Sardis, Cyrus commanded Clearchus to attend him with all his troops, and Aristippus to come to an agreement with his fellow-citizens, and send his army to him. He also appointed Xenias the Arcadian, who had the command of the mercenaries in the several cities, to come with all his men, leaving only sufficient garrisons in the citadels. He next ordered all the troops that were employed in the siege of Miletus, together with the banished citizens to join him, engaging to the last, if his expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his arms till he had restored them. They cheerfully obeyed, and, taking their arms with them, came to Sardis. Xenias also came thither with the garrisons he had drawn out of the cities, consisting of four thousand heavy-armed men; Proxenus brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-armed, and five hundred light-armed men; Sophænetus, the Stymphalian, a thousand heavy-armed; Socrates, the Achaian, about five hundred heavy-armed; Pasion, the Megarean, seven hundred men. Both Socrates and Pasion were among those who were employed in the siege of Miletus.

Tissaphernes observing this assemblage at Sardis, and considering that such preparations were greater than were necessary against the Pisidians, set off to king Artaxerxes with all the haste he could, taking with him about five hundred horse; and the king being informed by him of the intended expedition of Cyrus prepared himself to oppose him.

Cyrus, with the forces mentioned, marched from Sardis; and advancing through Lydia made twenty-two parasangs or sixty-six geographic miles, as far as the river Mæander. This river was at this point two plethra, or two hundred and two feet, in breadth, and the army crossed it by a bridge which was supported by seven boats; a style of bridge still common in the same countries. From hence they advanced through Phrygia, making in one day's march eight parasangs, or twenty-four geographic miles, to Colossæ.

Two facts are evident from this detail; first, that the army, to avoid Mount Tmolus, followed the vale of the Cogamus; and secondly, that they crossed the Mæander above or north of the junction of the Lycus. The point where the air-line, sixty-six miles in length, would intersect the Mæander, would be immediately below the junction of the Kópli-sú, and Banás chaï with the Mendéreh-sú, but the excess on the more direct line by the head of the Cogamus, and the Dervend or pass of Ḳásh Yenijí (Tripolis), amounting to scarcely five miles, is fully accounted for by the slightly circuitous course of the route by 'Alláh Shéhr (Philadelphia), and 'Aïnéh Göl[1]. The slight excess that manifests itself also between the air-line distance of the nearest point of the Mæander to Colossæ, which is at the junction of the Lycus, and the probable point of passage of the army, is also readily accounted for in the same manner.

[1] Geul, 'a lake,' according to the French orthography, and Göl or Gül, according to the German and Mr. Reinouard's orthography: also by some written Gheuil.

The valley of the Cogamus is described by Mr. Hamilton up to Sarúkli as well cultivated, and continuing as such, and intersected by numerous streams and pools of stagnant water to Yení bázár, situated in a picturesque and wooded ravine, amongst low broken hills to the south. The heat of the valley is here tempered by the adjacent heights of the Sipylus and Tmolus mountains. Beyond Yení bázár the valley or plain becomes more barren, often sandy, and sometimes covered with a uniform and characteristic vegetation of Vitex agnus castus. In parts, however, the grapes are abundant and rich, tents of pastoral Turkomans are scattered about, and flocks of sheep stroll around. Nearer to the hills the soft rock is worn into various picturesque and fantastic forms of cones and pinnacles. On approaching Philadelphia the hills become more wooded, and the perpetual vitex is relieved by tamarisk and oleander. Philadelphia, renowned in the history of the Church of Christ, is not noticed in the expedition of Cyrus. It is mentioned by Strabo as liable to suffer from earthquakes, and its present appearance and condition have been described by Chandler and Arundel.

The valley between Philadelphia and 'Aïnéh Göl is for the most part a rich and well-cultivated plain, five or six miles in width, bearing heavy crops of wheat, Indian corn, sesame, millet, melons, &c. The vitex, oleander, and tamarisk, flourish on the banks of the Cogamus, and the adjacent hills are wooded. 'Aïnéh Göl appears to be the Callatebus, noticed by Herodotus in the march of Xerxes, the inhabitants of which were famous for extracting saccharine matter from the tamarisk and wheat, and the town itself was on the road from Sardis to Tripolis. Mr. Hamilton did not however find any ruins at this place.

From 'Aïnéh Göl the valley still continues wide as a plain to where the road from Tripolis, Laodicea, and Colossæ joins that from Geunéh, Isháklí, &c. No modern European traveller has, that I am aware of, explored

this fragment of the route followed apparently by Xerxes, and by Cyrus from Callatebus to Tripolis.

Mr. Hamilton, however, visited this latter place, the ruins of which are situated near the spot where the Mæander emerges from a deep ravine, and enters the extensive plains through which it flows almost uninterruptedly to the sea. This then was the very spot at which to effect its passage. Mr. H. crossed the river below its junction with the Lycus, where he describes it as a muddy and winding river, flowing slowly in a deep channel through the alluvial soil of the plain, and said to abound in fish.

The ruins of Tripolis occupy the foot of a sloping hill close to the northern limits of the plain. The principal remains are parts of the city wall, a theatre, a large building at the south-west corner, apparently a gymnasium, and the walls of another building near the theatre, containing three small windows. In a ravine east of the town are several sarcophagi with their broken covers lying about, and many sepulchral chambers excavated in the rock.

Mr. Hamilton crossed the Mæander at several other points besides that below the Lycus, as immediately below its junction with the Banás chaï, where there is a bridge, and above in going from Méderch Kŏï to Sevé Kŏï, where it is clearer than after its junction with the Banás, and by a stone bridge, in the same district of Cha'al ṭopráḳ; but on none of these occasions does he record the width, so as to enable us to effect a comparison with the statement of Xenophon.

Colossæ, to the citizens of which the Apostle Paul addressed his Epistle, is a city of remote antiquity. Herodotus notices it as a noble city of Phrygia, and Xenophon describes it as a large city, rich, and well inhabited. The ruins of Colossæ occur at the junction of three streams, one called the Tchoruḳ-sú, corresponding to the ancient Lycus, the other the 'Aḳ-sú, or white water, and the third the river Chonos. There is a bridge over the united

streams, and below it the waters fall into a deep hollow, in which are several mills, and a short way lower down, the united stream flows through a deep and narrow chasm in the rocks. The town was on the south side, or that of the river of Chonos, where Mr. Hamilton found a field full of large blocks of stone, and foundations of buildings, with fragments of columns and broken pottery strewed upon the ground. Others are strewed about on all sides, and the road is lined with marble blocks, amongst which are fragments of columns, architraves, and cornices. A little farther, near the road-side, is the hollow cavea of a theatre, built on the side of a sloping hill, and of which several seats are still *in sitû*; some traces of the wall of the right wing are also visible: a grassy sward covers nearly the whole space.

On the other side of the river, and to the north-west, are the remains of the Necropolis, covering a considerable space of ground. As in many other places in Lesser Asia, the sarcophagi are cut in solid rocky ground, and so close to each other, that when the covers were laid on, they resembled a pavement formed of gigantic blocks; added to these were many rude grotesque-shaped pedestals, resembling elongated truncated pyramids, which had been placed upon the sepulchres as cippi. Beyond the bridge were also ruins of a large oblong building, near which were four massive pilasters of loose rubble, cased with large blocks of stone: the natives call them churches.

The 'Aḳ-ṣú joins the Tchorúḳ-ṣú, in several channels flowing into it, both above and below the bridge. Its waters are highly charged with lime, which it also deposits as a travertino in great abundance. The ground around consisted of soft white travertino, or limestone, deposited by the river, as are also several low natural water-conduits which cross it in various directions. Mr. Hamilton thinks that the 'Aḳ-ṣú flowed formerly into the Lycus, lower down than where it now joins it, in fact, exactly where the chasm is the narrowest. At that point

the river of Chonos, also a large stream, falls over the cliff on the south side of the river. It possesses the same petrifying or incrusting qualities as the 'Aḳ-ṣú, and which led Pliny to describe the latter as a river at Colossæ, which would convert brick to stone. This stream has been diverted from its former course by the accumulation of its own deposit, and now falls over a thickly wooded bank, the rich vegetation of which, favouring the progress of incrustation by exposing the dissolved lime to carbonization in the atmosphere, is enveloped in a garb of stone. The cliffs on both sides have been formed by a similar operation; and it is evident that if the 'Aḳ-ṣú formerly joined at this point, the cliffs might have approached one another until a natural bridge was formed, and thus have constituted the subterranean passage through which the river flowed for half a mile, according to the statements of Herodotus, at Colossæ. Mr. Hamilton adduces in favour of this view of the case, a statement of the Byzantine historian Curopolates, who notices the circumstance as occurring in a narrow gorge, just below the junction of several rivers.

Not far from the ruins of Colossæ, and to the south, is the modern village of Chonos, containing about two hundred houses, which stand on the site of Chonæ, the birthplace of Nicetas, the Byzantine historian, and which grew into importance on the destruction of Colossæ, and became one of the most interesting and flourishing cities of Asia Minor. The magnificent church, dedicated to the archangel Michael, was burnt by the Turks. It is probably from the use of the hewn stones of Colossæ to construct Chonæ, that so little remains of the parent city. Numerous columns and other fragments of antiquity, are noticed by Mr. Arundel, as existing in all the walls and houses. There are also the ruins of a castle on a rocky platform above the village, and at the foot of a steep and precipitous range of mountains, from which a small stream, after descending through a deep and narrow gorge to the west of the castle, flows into the plain. Some historians

have written of Colossæ and Chonæ as the same places, the latter being the vulgar or common name. The Colossæ of the time of Cyrus must however have been the more ancient city, situated near the subterranean passage of the Lycus, and where the ruins above described have been explored by Mr. Hamilton[1]. Cyrus staid seven days at Colossæ, and was joined there by Menon the Thessalian, who came with a thousand heavy-armed men, and five hundred targeteers, consisting of Dolopians, Œnians, and Olynthians.

From Colossæ, Cyrus made in three days' march, twenty parasangs, or sixty geographical miles, to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, which is described by Xenophon as being at that time large, rich, and well inhabited. It was the chief residence of Cyrus, as satrap of that part of Asia Minor; hence we can readily understand why, collecting his forces from Ephesus and Thessaly at Sardis, he marched thence to the capital of his government. Here also stood his palace, connected with which was a large park full of wild beasts, which Cyrus was in the habit of hunting on horseback. The river Mæander is described as running through this park, as well also as through the city of Celænæ, but the palace was situated near the head of the river. There was besides a fortified palace belonging to the 'great king' Artaxerxes, near Celænæ, at the head of the river Marsyas, under the citadel. This river likewise ran through the city, and fell into the Mæander. The Marsyas was twenty Greek feet broad. Here Apollo is said to have slayed Marsyas, whom he had overcome in a contention in music, and to have hung up his skin in the cave from whence the springs flow; for this reason the river was called Marsyas. Here also Xerxes, when he fled from Greece after his defeat,

[1] 'It is probable,' says Rennell, 'that the subsequent foundation of the Macedonian cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis occasioned the decline of Colossæ; both of which have disappeared, in their turn, and have left no other representative than the small town of Denízli, or Denízlu.'

is said to have built both a fortified palace, and an adjacent citadel. This is the description of a great and remarkable place. There were two palaces, one of the king, close to which was the citadel at the head of the river Marsyas, the other belonging to Cyrus, at the head of the river Mæander, and between which and the city was one of those great hunting parks, so highly in request among the Persian nobles.

The inhabitants of Celænæ are said to have migrated from the ancient city on the occasion of the conquest of Alexander, and subsequent to this, they came under the protection of the conquerors of Eumenes and Antigonus, who gathered them together in a new city, which was variously named after a male and female head of the family, Antiochea (from Antiochus Soter), and Apamea (from his mother, Apama). But as the Antiocheas, Seleucias, and Apameas were numerous in western Asia, the new city was distinguished as Apamea Cibotus, by which name it appears in the Theodosian tables. That the Apamea of the Antiochidæ rose adjacent to, but not on the same spot as Celænæ, we may convince ourselves from the words of Strabo, who describes Antiochus as taking the citizens from the one to the other; and from Livy, who describes them as not far from one another. The latter historian describes the consul Manlius as building a castle at Antiochea, on the river Mæander; but Pliny, Strabo, and Stephanus, designate it as Apamea[2].

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[2] Rennell (*Illust.* &c. p. 23.) identified Celænæ with Sandúklí, upon the ground of other identifications, which have not stood the test of more recent investigation. The Theodosian tables give 73 M.P. between Synnada and Apamea, through Euphorbium; and from Hierapolis to Apamea (Celænæ) 72 M.P. Hierapolis was determined in position by the journal and observations of Dr. Chandler, on the north of the river Mæander, and Synnada by the marches of the consul Manlius from Pisidia to Galatia; (Livy, 38, c. 14.) admitting Diniæ to be represented by Búlávádín, and 5 M.P. short of Beudos Vetus, which is identified with Bayád. Laodicea ad Lycum was placed from ancient authorities near the junction of the Lycus (Tchorúk-sú) with the Mæander. The ruins of Laodicea

The Phrygians, according to Pliny, venerated the rivers Marsyas and Mœander; and indeed, they presented in their origin a very remarkable hydrographical phenomenon; as is described by Pliny, Strabo, and Maximus Tyrius, who relate that these rivers have their origin from the same sources, but that losing themselves in the mountain Aulocrene, which intervenes between the fountain common to both, and the sites of Celænæ and Apamea, they issued by two separate channels, to unite again beyond the cities.

This interesting fragment of historical and physical geography has been satisfactorily cleared up by modern travellers; and it appears that there exists beyond and above the sites of Celænæ and Apamea, a mountain-environed plain, called by the Turks Dombaï ováh, in which are some remarkable sources or springs flowing from the foot of a ridge of limestone rocks, and at once forming a considerable river, as is a frequent case in limestone countries. This river flows west across the plain, and after

(Eskí-Hisár) and of Hierapolis, at Pambúk Kal'eh, both near the Lycus (Tchorúk-sú), have been visited and described by a host of travellers, including Smith, Pococke, Chandler, Cockerell, Arundel, Leake, and W. J. Hamilton. The direct distance from Pambúk Kal'eh to Deenaïr (Apamea) is fifty-two English miles, and from the same place to Sandúklí is sixty-one English miles; the first being the closest approximation to the distance given in the tables. Euphorbium has been identified by Mr. W. J. Hamilton with ruins at Emír Hasán Kóï, near Sandúklí, and Synnada by the same traveller with Afiyún Káráhisár, in one place (Vol. II. p. 179), and in another place (Vol. I. p. 467) with certain ruins on the plain of Polybotum, which are about five miles from Eskí Káráhisár, which he identifies with Beudos Vetus. The distance between Deenaïr and the Synnadic quarries at the head of the plain of Polybotum (Búlávádín), through the plain of Sandúklí, amounts to about fifty English miles; another good approximation, while the distance from the same quarries to Sandúklí, is not more than thirty miles.

The distance from Celænæ to the forum of the Kramians was twenty-two parasangs, or sixty-six geographical miles. This laid down on the map from Sandúklí northwards, would carry the Greeks to even beyond Kutáyáh, which Rennell identifies with the Agora Keramorum.

Dr. Pococke identified Celænæ with Ishákli, an identification against which there are even more objections than against that of Sandúklí.

a course of about two miles forms a marshy lake, covered with reeds and rushes, at the back of the mountains which rise to the east of the site of Celænæ; and it appears, as suggested by Dr. Cramer, to be received into the mountain to re-issue at its western foot in two different streams. This then, according to Mr. Hamilton, is the valley and lake of Aulocrenis, now Dombaï ováh. It was visited by Mr. Arundel previous to Mr. Hamilton's explorations, and both travellers describe ruins of a town or village as existing also in the plain, the buildings of which have been constructed with small stones, with the exception of one edifice, the foundation of which consists of large blocks. Mr. H. identifies these ruins with Silbium, or Sylbas, placed according to Cinnamus at the first sources of the Mæander, and Mr. Arundel found for them the characteristic name of Sú Báshí, or, 'head of the waters.'

The most southerly of the two re-issues is designated as the Mæander, and Mr. Hamilton found it to take place in a lake nearly two miles in circumference, full of reeds and rushes, water-lilies and wild ducks, and surrounded on almost every side by steep and lofty mountains. This is not the lake of Aulocrene, but that which is described by Pliny as situated in the mountain Aulocrene, and giving origin to the river Mæander. Before arriving at the modern town of Deenaïr, this river is joined on the plain by a clear and rapid river that issues from a narrow glen to the north-east. This stream gushes with great rapidity from the base of a rocky cliff, and flows down its narrow channel with considerable force, the noise of which may be heard from the hills above. It appeared as if it had formerly risen in the center of a great cavern, and that the surrounding rocks had fallen in from the cliff above.

This then is identified with the Marsyas, or Catarrhactes, described by Herodotus as rising in the Agora of Celænæ, and by Strabo as rushing down with great noise and rapidity. The fable of Marsyas, so celebrated

in antiquity, had apparently its origin in musical sounds which were emitted from the cave, or by the river itself.

The palace of Cyrus is described as being at the head of the river Mæander, but Mr. Hamilton does not notice any ruins in that position; and the park occupied the space between it and the city, or the plain described by Mr. H. as that on which he distinctly traced the Mæander flowing. The Acropolis was at the head of the river Marsyas, and the palace of the king below it; but Mr. H. did not find any remains of these ancient buildings, and is inclined also, from the difficulties met with by Alexander in his siege, to doubt the positioning; but the words of Xenophon are too distinct to admit of scepticism, and he is supported by other authorities.

It would appear from the description of Xenophon, that the Mæander ran through the city of Celænæ, as did also the Marsyas, which fell into the Mæander. Hence Celænæ was above the junction of the rivers, which both flowed through it, while, from the description of Livy, it would appear that Antiochus founded his city, to which he removed the inhabitants of Celænæ on the Mæander, which had its origin at Celænæ, and after it was joined by the Marsyas, which had its sources not far from the Mæander. Hence Deenaïr represents the city of the Antiochidæ — Apamea Cibotus; while Celænæ has nothing but its position to indicate its former existence.

Earthquakes, and the building of a new city in the neighbourhood, may have contributed to this extinction. Nicolaus of Damascus notices the frequency of earthquakes in these regions. Tacitus also relates that during the reign of Claudius, Apamea had suffered to such a degree from the same cause, that it was exempted from taxes for five years. Earthquakes, as suggested by Mr. Hamilton, probably caused the falling in of the cave of Aulocrenis, and the destruction of the citadel above.

The same traveller describes the gardens and vineyards of the straggling town of Deenaïr as extending up

the plains of the Mæander; and Gibbon, speaking of the rebellion of Tribigild, A.D. 399, describes the vineyards and fruitful fields between the rapid Marsyas and the winding Mæander as being consumed by fire. It is probable that Celænæ and Apamea were, like Deenaïr, straggling cities, even in the zenith of their power and population.

The route followed by Cyrus in travelling from Colossæ to Celænæ does not appear to be satisfactorily made out, as the shortest line by the north side of lake Chardák would only give a direct distance of fifty geographical miles. The two points being however determined by other means, we must leave this discrepancy to the details of a march of three days' length. Every probability is in favour of the line of the lake, as it is also noticed by Herodotus under the name of Anava, in the previous march of Xerxes from the same Colossæ to Celænæ. Mr. W. J. Hamilton, is inclined, from the fact of Arrian's giving five days march to Alexander from Sagalassus ('Alláhsún) to Celænæ, to consider that the Macedonian went out of his way four days' march, and passed by this lake, which would then be the Ascanian lake of the Nicomedian historian. It is to be objected to this, that Strabo relates that Sagalassus was only one day's journey from Apamea, and if we admit the positioning of Sagalassus, whose extensive remains and remarkable situation have been explored and described by Mr. Arundel and Mr. Hamilton; and concerning which, from the inscriptions discovered by the latter traveller, there can be no longer any doubt; then the real distance from Sagalassus to Celænæ will be thirty-four to thirty-five miles, or one day's journey, passing by the north end of lake Búldúr, which would then correspond to that of Ascania. It is to be mentioned, however, in favour of Arrian's account, that he notices the places of rest on the reported five days' march, to which is to be added, that lake Chardák is very salt, as Arrian describes that of Ascania to be; while

lake Búldúr is only brackish, corresponding, however curiously to say, with the description of Pliny's lake Ascania, of which he says that the water at the surface was fresh, while that below was nitrous.

Cyrus stayed thirty days in his palace of Celænæ, and Clearchus joined him there with a thousand heavy-armed men, five hundred Thracian targeteers, and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Sosias, the Syracusan, came with a thousand heavy-armed men, and Sophænetus, the Arcadian, with a thousand more. Cyrus reviewed the Greeks in the park, and took an account of their numbers; they amounted in the whole to eleven thousand heavy-armed men, and about two thousand targeteers.

Cyrus marched from Celænæ in two days, ten parasangs, (thirty geographical miles), and arrived at Peltæ, a city concerning which there are few early notices, but which Xenophon describes as being then well inhabited. It appears, however, to have preserved a certain degree of importance after the christian era, as we find it mentioned as an episcopate. Pliny notices the Pelteni as a people. Peltæ is placed in the Theodosian tables on the road from Apamea to Dorylæum, by way of Eucarpia, and at some distance from Eumenia, but without that distance being definitely marked. Mr. Hamilton assigns a distance of twenty-five geographical miles between Celænæ and Eumenia, which is considered to be represented by the modern Isháklí, and which is evidently not sufficient for the space indicated by Xenophon. As Eumenes, however, did not found this Phrygian city till several centuries after the time of Cyrus, and as on all the previous portions of the journey there appears to have been an object in visiting every station in question, so there is no reason to suppose that the road was direct; on the contrary, by the tables on this occasion omitting to notice distances, there is every reason to believe that it was circuitous. The most satisfactory points in the inquiry are, however, the positive fact, that Cyrus did not march from Celænæ, to the east,

but to the market-town of the Cramians, which was on the frontiers of Mysia, or in a north-north-west direction. Hence Mr. Hamilton has involved himself in an inconsistency, when in one place (II. p. 203,) he places Peltæ near to Ishákli, as is also indicated in his map, when he had previously (II. p. 163,) identified the Báḳlan Ováh, which he describes as remarkable for its level extent, and capabilities for manœuvring cavalry, as the Campus Peltenus, on which Cyrus reviewed his troops, and celebrated martial games, after leaving Celænæ. The Báḳlan Ováh is thirty geographical miles from Deenaïr, and corresponds thus with the distance given by Xenophon of Peltæ from Celænæ.

On this plain Mr. Hamilton found numerous remains of antiquity; burial-grounds with large blocks of stone and broken columns, mutilated inscriptions, and other fragments scattered over such an extent of surface, that this traveller says, a whole month dedicated to the examination of the numerous villages and burial-grounds which fill this extensive plain, and which increase in number as you advance eastwards, would not be too much. The country that intervenes between the heads of the rivers at Deenaïr and the Baḳlán Ováh, or Peltenus Campus, has not as yet been explored by any European traveller. Mr. Hamilton approached it from Ishákli.

Cyrus stayed three days at this suitable site, during which Xenias the Arcadian solemnized the Lupercalian sacrifice; an Arcadian ceremony, instituted in honour of Pan, and in which, after the sacrifice, it is related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that the priests ran through the streets naked, except when covered with the skins of the victims newly sacrificed. They also celebrated a game, the prizes of which were, according to Hutchinson, Spelman, and other translators, golden scrapers, used by the Grecks and Romans in the bath; but according to D'Ablancourt, golden stirrups. Strigiles certainly signified horse-combs as well as body-scrapers, and the

original word may also have had two meanings. Scrapers were certainly, according to our ideas, a strange object of contention for military men, but it is stated to have been customary to give with them goblets, the authorities for which are quoted by Hutchinson. Schrevelius' Lexicon, it is also to be observed, says of the original Στλεγγίς, *idem quod* Σελεγγίς a goblet, which is probably at once the most reasonable and most accurate version.

From Peltæ, Cyrus made in two marches twelve parasangs, or thirty-six miles, and came to the market of the Ceramanians, or Cramians. This was a city well inhabited, and the last of the country of Mysia. It is almost the only town in the Expedition, or retreat, the position of which has not been at least proximatively established. Major Rennell identified it with Kútáhiyeh, which could only be done by admitting the identity of Sandúklí and Celænæ; and Mr. J. W. Hamilton sought for it at 'Usháḳ; but a line of sixty-six geographical miles from Celænæ, drawn so as to intersect one of ninety from the Caystri Campus, can scarcely be said to intersect at that point. It is, however, at such a point of intersection, taking into consideration and allowing at the same time for the difficulties of road, that the site of the market must be sought for.

Pliny notices Ceranæ on the frontiers of Phrygia. It is designated in the *Notitiæ* as Cariæ, an episcopate. Stephanus calls it Caris, a town of Phrygia. It is also noticed by Livy, as the Caria which is called Hydrela; and the same historian speaks of the fields of the Hydrelati, verging upon Phrygia, with a city and acropolis neighbouring to the river Mæander, and which was free before the war.

Cyrus made from the market of the Cramians, in three days' march, thirty parasangs, or ninety geographic miles; certainly an astonishing march, and arrived at the plain of Caystrus, where was a well-peopled city, in which he staid five days. In the difficulty of deter-

mining the position of the market of the Cramians with desirable accuracy, it is necessary to ascertain that of the plain of Caystrus by the reverse method, or by retrograding from the first station that can be identified in a satisfactory and incontrovertible manner; and we find this at Ḳóniyah, the ancient Iconium, which with the lapse of centuries, and the succession of physical and human catastrophes, has preserved its existence, and even its name. The distance of the plain of Caystrus from Iconium amounted to one hundred and twenty geographical miles, and these taken off, upon the actual great road, which, from the necessities of the soil, must also have been the ancient one, will lead us to the plain of Súrmeneh—a high and arid upland, (as its ancient name designates), and which is rather traversed, than watered by, an insignificant tributary to the Ebér Göl, and on or near to which were the towns of Docimeum and the marble-quarries of Synnada.

Mr Hamilton found the neighbourhood of Súrmeneh to abound in remains of antiquity. The village of that name, itself, he describes as furnishing a rich mine of antiquarian treasures. Sarcophagi lay about in the fields and at the foot of the hills, and the foundations and houses of a considerable town, of which the lines of streets and walls, &c., formed of huge blocks of stone and marble, might be traced to a great distance. In the center was an open space without any buildings, apparently the market-place. Mr. H. obtained from an inscription in a neighbouring burial-ground the name of Docimia, but he supposes that one or more ancient cities existed in this vicinity[1].

This is a remarkable point, as that from whence the

[1] Rennell (*Illust.* &c. p. 31) places Caystrus at the present site of Ishákli (our Thymbrium), and by him called Sáklí, and said by Pococke to be also called Seleuktér; probably one of the many cities which were named Seleucia, and at or near where the battle of Ipsus was fought, and which decided the fate of empire in Lower Asia, after the death of Alexander.

ancient road from Dorylæum to Apamea Cibotus crossed the one from Cilicia, Iconium and Cæsarea, to Ephesus; also the roads from Archelais, by Perta and Congustos; from Ancyra, by Parnassus and Amorium, and from Ancyra, by Germa and Pessinunte, to Eumenia; all met at the same place. The quarries of Synnada were adjacent, and we learn from Cicero, that Synnada was on the road from Apamea to Philomelium ('Aḳshéhr), while Livy also informs us, that Manlius passed through Synnada on his march from the Campus Metropolitanus to the frontiers of Galatia. A place of so much importance as that of the junction of so many roads, is not likely to have been neglected by one who, like Cyrus, was effecting circuitous marches for the purpose of increasing his numbers, and probably putting the richer towns to contribution. Mr. Hamilton has, by his system of admeasurements, caused so important a place to fall at Chaï-kóï, 'the village of the river,' an insignificant place, without any ruins, but pleasantly situated at the foot of the Sultán Ṭágh, and on the south side of the plain of Búláváḍín, the ancient Polybotum; an extensive plain, but very marshy, being in one part occupied by a perpetual and large lake, called Ebér Göl, and most unlikely at any season of the year to present the arid and burnt appearance which could have led the Greeks to call it Kaustron, or Caystrus, 'the burnt, or barren plain.'

Colonel Leake, led astray by the name, thought that it must be the same plain as that watered by the Cayster, to the south of Mount Tmolus; but it is impossible to reconcile the various statements and distances given with this view of the subject, while the importance of the position for the objects before enumerated strike the mind with force. It was here also, at the entrance of Phrygia Paroreius, and where the road turns directly towards Cilicia, that Cyrus was met by Epyaxa, the queen of Syennesis, king of that country. The finances of the Persian prince were also at a low ebb. There was

due to the soldiers above three months' pay, which they are related as coming often to his door to demand. He continued to give the troops hopes, but was visibly concerned; for Xenophon says he was not of a disposition to deny money when he had it. It was said that the Cilician queen made him a present of great sums of money. Cyrus therefore gave the army four months pay at that time. The Cilician queen had a guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; Aspendus being a city of Pamphylia, situated on the river Eurymedons, and related by Strabo to have been built by the Argives.

From the plain of Caystrus, Cyrus made thirty geographical miles in two days' march, and came to the city of Thymbrium, a town well inhabited. Thirty geographical miles from Súrmeneh, with a slight circuitousness of road, caused by the projections of the Sulṭán Ṭágh, take us to the modern Iṣḥáḳlí, which is also distant thirty parasangs, or ninety miles by road from Ḳóniyah. There are no other notices of a town of this name thus situated. Hence Colonel Leake went so far as to suppose that it was a town on the river Thymbres, a tributary of the Saḳáriyyah, which flows past Kútáhiyeh and Eskí Shéhr (Dorylæum). There is, however, indirect testimony of the existence of a place of this name in these regions in Pliny, who, in describing the Lycaonian Convention, mentions, amongst other people who had formerly belonged to Phrygia (Paroreius), the Philomelienses, Tymbriani, Leucolithi, Pelteni, and Tyrienses. The first inhabited the modern 'Aḳshéhr; the second, the district of Iṣḥáḳlí; the Pelteni, the plain of Baḳlán Ováh; the Tyrienses, Tyriæum, the district of 'Arḳút Khán; and it is not improbable that the Leucolithi were identical with the tenants of the plain of Súrmeneh, which is not only lofty and arid, but stony, and in places so covered with *white* slabs of limestone, or marble, and huge square blocks, heaped together in considerable masses, that Mr. Hamilton could not say whether it was the site of a ruined

town, or merely the quarry, where the real limestone, rising to the surface, was easily worked. The name might also have been derived from the neighbouring celebrated quarries of Synnada, the marble of which, although spotted, had a basis of white.

Ishákli is remarkably situated at the foot of the Sultán Tágh, on the great road to Kóniyah, and where the country rises gently, so as to form the versant between the two great lakes of Ebér Göl and 'Akshéhr Göl. The town itself, embosomed among trees and gardens, is straggling and badly built, nor are remains of antiquity very numerous; but large hewn stones, and fragments of shafts, and capitals of columns, architraves, &c., are met with around in the gardens, or employed in the construction of modern edifices. Near the center of the town is a ruined mosque, built in Saracenic style, by Sultán 'Alá-addín of Kóniyah, in the thirteenth century. Within the court is one of those mektíbs, or Muhammedan pulpits, which present the most finished specimens of the ornamental Saracenic workmanship, as at Mósul and Dívríkí, which are to be met with in the East. There is said to be also one of the same kind at Anni. Ishákli has been always a place much in esteem for sanctity, and there is a fountain in the lower part of the town which is consecrated by tradition, and not far from which a useful superstition has constructed a large khan. This fountain may hypothetically be that alluded to by Xenophon, as being at Thymbrium, and at which Midas, king of Phrygia, was said to have caught the satyr, by mixing wine with the water. Ishákli appears from the tables to have been known to the Byzantines by the name of Julia, and to be the same as the Juliopolis of Ptolemy, situated to the east of Synnada, and the town of the same name in the Conventus Cybraticus of Pliny.

By the value given to the parasang by Mr. Hamilton, Thymbrium falls westward a few miles of 'Akshéhr, not far from the fountain of 'Olú Bínár, which he identifies

with the fountain of Midas. And hence, he says, there seems every reason for placing Thymbrium at the foot of Sulṭán Ṭágh, between this fountain and 'Aḳshéhr.

Travelling from Búlávádín[1], the ancient Polybotum, and a Byzantine episcopate, written Polybotus by Procopius, and Polygotus by Hierocles, the road is carried to the foot of Sulṭán Ṭágh by a stone causeway of several miles in length across a marsh abounding in wild fowl. Where the road approaches the mountains, there is a valley with a rivulet, on the banks of which are situated two villages embosomed in trees, and designated as Dereh Sinák, and Yáḳá Sinák, while below and on the marsh is a fort-like looking farm called 'Abéḳ. The country then rises gradually, becomes stony, and descends again slightly towards Isḥáklí. At the eastern gate of the town of Isḥáklí a dervish has a hut close to a saint's tomb, where he receives the donations of the faithful. From Isḥákli to 'Aḳshéhr, the foot of the mountains to the south, is almost everywhere cultivated or occupied by gardens, the ravines in the chain having each its rivulet, and almost always revealing a picturesque village. This belt of cultivation varies in extent from one to two miles, and gardens surrounding villages advance at times into this tract, which is soon succeeded to the north by marsh and lake. The road follows a line on the skirts of cultivation and marsh. Half a mile from Isḥáklí is Keríshná, a pretty village in a ravine. A mile further, Sheríshná, also in a ravine; a little beyond, another village, and then a larger one, embosomed among trees, and possessing a mosque and minaret. Five minutes beyond are three springs in the roadside, (Mr Hamilton only notices one), and an adjacent coffee-house. They are called 'Olú Bínár[2], and were

[1] Rennell (*Illust.* &c. p. 34) considers that Thymbrium ought to be at or near the Kárá Tepeh of Niebuhr's map. This is the Karyat of our Travels, the vulgate for Kárá U'yúk, 'the Black Mound.'

[2] Pronounced Bunár, 'originally, no doubt,' says Mr. Renouard, 'Bínár,' and by the eastern Turks Bunár, *u* as in the French *on*, *en*, *mon*, &c.

identified with the Thymbrian springs by the traveller above mentioned. A mile and a half beyond there is another village, and then the gardens of 'Aḳshéhr are entered.

'Aḳshéhr is a beautiful town, situated in a wider valley than has hitherto presented itself in the Sulṭán Ṭágh, and through which also flows a stream of more importance. The houses climb partly up the hill-side, and the valley is filled up with the usual Muhammedan public edifices, mosques, khans, tombs, and the numerous stalls of the market-place. Mr. Hamilton found several incriptions, and in the wall of a tekiyyeh, or dervish monastery, many marble blocks and columns. The walls of many houses, fountains, and mosques, exhibit other remnants of ancient architecture. Mr. Arundel's discovery of Antioch of Pisidia at Yalobatch, has determined 'Aḳshéhr to be the ancient Philomelium. Strabo, Ptolemy, and Stephanus, write Philomelium; Cicero, Philomelum; and Pliny speaks of the Philomelienses. Strabo places Philomelium on the north side of the range of Phrygia Paroreius (Sulṭán Ṭágh), and Antioch to the south, at a distance of seven hours. It is difficult to understand, however, how Ptolemy considers it as situated between Silbium and Peltæ. As 'the white city,' it was a town much resorted to by the sultans of Iconium, who embellished it, as well as 'Aḳ-seráï, both of which appear to have been favourite residences. Many of its Saracenic buildings are attributed to Sulṭán 'Alá-ad-dín, and it has also a more modern mosque, or Imaréh, which is a handsome structure, and the portico of which is supported by four monolithic columns.

We learn from Anna Comnena, that Alexius took this city by assault, A.D. 1110. And it is frequently mentioned in the early wars of the Osmanlis with the princes of Karamania.

On the plain, five miles east of 'Aḳshéhr, there is an ancient mound surmounted by a village, and called Ḳárá

U'yúk, the 'black mound,' the same as the Kárá Tepeh, or 'black hill' of Niebuhr, and identified by Rennell with Thymbrium. It has all the appearance of being an ancient site. Beyond this, the country alternates between cultivated plains and villages with gardens; more elevated plains, with the bare limestone cropping out in places, and forming low grassy heights, till the traveller arrives at 'Arḳúṭ Khán, a small town of about two hundred houses, and where is a large khan, in part constructed out of ancient hewn stones, and other fragments of antiquity, which also abound in the burial-ground, and are strewed about in the neighbourhood. This site corresponds by distances both from Thymbrium on the one side, and from Iconium on the other, with Tyriæum, which Cyrus reached in two days' march, during which the army made ten parasangs. It was at that time a populous town[1].

The notices of Tyriæum are in other respects very scanty. Luckily Strabo mentions it as the great road from Ephesus to Mazaca, and five hundred stadia from Holmi at the commencement of Phrygia Paroreius, which we have placed near Súrmeneh, and which must naturally have been near the head-waters of the lakes, (Ebér Göl being

[1] Rennell having identified the forum Ceramorum with Kútáhiyeh, and Philomelium with I'lghún, finds that Strabo, in his route from Ephesus to Tomisa on the Euphrates, brings in Tyriæum first on the way to Philomelium, and that it (Tyriæum) must therefore be nearer to Kóniyah than I'lghún, so that he is led to place that site about six miles east of I'lghún, which would only leave a distance of about forty geographical miles to Iconium, instead of the sixty given by the historian. Rennell also supposes that the three previous marches, instead of being of nearly seven par. each, as given in the Anabasis, were only of the ordinary length, or about five. Philomelium being identified with 'Akshéhr does away with the difficulty occasioned by Tyriæum being to the east of it, and yet sixty miles from Iconium; but it does not clear up the difficulty occasioned by the distance given in the Theodosian tables of twenty-eight M.P. or twenty geographical miles from Laodicea to Philomelium, which would identify Philomelium, as Rennell has done, with I'lghún. But the distances given in this case by the tables, are contradicted by the reports of other authorities of the distances of the same Philomelium from Antioch of Pisidia, and from Synnada.

the most westerly), at or near the origin of the Sulṭán Ṭágh, or where the great road enters into the region of that mountain-chain (Phrygia Paroreius) and its inland lakes. The distances correspond perfectly. Tyriæum is also recorded by the same geographer as situated between Philomelium and Laodicea, which would also obtain, as far as mere description is concerned, with regard to I'ghún, which, guided by his interpretation of the value of the *parasang*, Mr. Hamilton identifies with Tyriæum; its pretensions in regard to remnants of antiquity being nearly upon a par with 'Arḳúṭ Khán; for after an examination of its mosques, baths, and bezesteïn, that traveller says he found no traces of antiquity, and 'the site,' he says, 'appeared to be entirely Turkish.'

At Tyriæum the Queen of Cilicia desired Cyrus to exhibit to her his army, and, in compliance with this request, he reviewed in the plain both his Greek and Barbarian forces; ordering the Greeks to dispose themselves according to their custom, and stand in order of battle, and that each of the commanders should draw up his own men: so they were drawn up four deep. Menon had the right with his people, and Clearchus the left with his men; the rest of the generals being in the center. First, therefore, Cyrus viewed the Barbarians, (they marched by him drawn up in troops and companies), then the Greeks, Cyrus driving by them on a car, and the Cilician queen in a chariot. They had all brazen helmets, scarlet vests, greaves, and burnished shields. After he had passed by them all, he stopped his car in center of the front, and sending Pigres his interpreter to the Greek generals, he ordered the whole line to present their pikes, and advance in order of battle; these conveyed his orders to the soldiers, who, when the trumpets sounded, presented their pikes and advanced; then, marching faster than ordinary, with shouts, ran of their own accord to the tents. Upon this, many of the Barbarians were seized with fear; the Cilician queen quitted her chariot and

fled; and the sutlers, leaving their commodities, ran away: the Greeks, not without laughter, repaired to their tents. The Cilician queen, seeing the lustre and order of the army, was in admiration, and Cyrus pleased to see the terror with which the Greeks had struck the Barbarians.

From Tyriæum, Cyrus made in three days' march twenty parasangs, and came to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia, where he staid three days. Between 'Arḳút Khán and Ḳóniyah are three existing small towns, I'lghún, Ḳádun Khán ('Lady's Khan'), and Ládik. The marches of Cyrus, of twenty miles per day, would not have allowed the army to stay at any of these places. I'lghún is a small straggling town, with a few public buildings, as a bezesteïn, or covered market, baths and mosque, which have a substantial and goodly appearance. There are no remains of antiquity. A short distance to the west are some hot springs, sheltered by a building of some pretensions, with a small mosque close by, in the construction of which ancient blocks of marble have been used. The road leaving I'lghún passes a hill of limestone, about five hundred feet high to the left, and is continued over a nearly level plain, clad with greensward, till about five miles from I'lghún it crosses a rivulet by a bridge, and turns over limestone hills to again descend into a great plain, cultivated in parts, and bounded to the south by wood-clad hills. This appears to be the plain on which by distances the army would have rested the first night. Beyond this the plain becomes more cultivated, the Bólasán-sú, and some semi-crystalline limestone rocks, reposing on schists, are passed, and Ḳádun Khán is gained. This is another small town of about three hundred houses, with a large khan, from whence its name, and which is in part constructed of ancient blocks of stone, many of them bearing inscriptions, sculptured crosses, &c. Mr. Hamilton copied several of these inscriptions, and he describes the place as full of columns, and large blocks of marble, among which was one having a bas-relief of two figures, one sitting on

the back of the other. This is evidently an ancient site, but its older name is at present unknown. About six miles to the south of Ḳádun Khán is a ruin, perched on a truncated volcanic cone, called Kestel, or Bedel Kal'eh. Mr. Hamilton, who visited it, thought it might have been a monastery.

About seven miles beyond Ḳádun Khán, and on the great road, is the small town of Ládik, built upon a semi-artificial mound, in a recess of the hills. The road to this place leads in part through low hills of clay and chlorite schists, tilting up semi-crystalline limestones, followed by a gentle ascent over limestone-hills, and then across a plain along a foot of hills to the south.

Ládik now contains scarcely above a hundred houses, and these are low, mud-built, and flat-roofed, surrounded by gardens and walled fields, in which are many fragments of ruined buildings. Numerous remains of olden time—hewn stones, columns, sepulchral pedestals, and sarcophagi—are scattered about the hill, and an adjacent burial-ground is still pointed out as the Jáwur Mezár, or infidels' cemetery. Mr. Hamilton examined the ruins in detail, and copied several inscriptions, but eliminated nothing remarkable from his researches. Ládik has long since been identified, from similarity of name, with Laodicea Combusta, or Catacecaumene. The identification of Laodicea appears tolerably well made out, but that of Laodicea Combusta not so certain. There were several Laodiceas, of which one was on the Lycus, another in Lebanon, a third by the sea (Ládhikíych), a fourth (Cabiosa) in Cœlo-Syria, and two in Media. The name, as that of several of the celebrated females of the Antiochidæ, is almost as common as that of Apamea. There are also several other Ládiks, as one between Amásíyah and Ṣám-ṣún, and elsewhere. Ptolemy places the Bezenes among the people of Galatia, and Laodicea Combusta in their neighbourhood. Hierocles, and the authors of the *Ecclesiastical Notices*, place it in Pisidia. Socrates also speaks of that Laodicea

which is in Pisidia. Strabo and Stephanus place it in Lycaonia. It is difficult also, if this be the Laodicea Combusta, as Mr. Hamilton remarks, to imagine whence it derived its name, as there is no evidence of volcanic action in the neighbourhood. This traveller suggests that it may have been burnt down and rebuilt; Cellarius thinks that it was destroyed by earthquakes. Upon the hills to the south of Laodicea is a remarkable piece of rock, designated as the Kíz Kayá sí, or 'Girl's stone,' a word used figuratively by the easterns, as in the rock near Kal'ch jik, in Galatia, and also frequently applied throughout the same countries to bridges and castles.

The road from Ládik to Kóniyah is at first hilly, it is then carried along a narrow, uncultivated valley, and lastly over the wide, level, and extensive plain of Kóniyah itself. By a fair division of road, Cyrus' halt would have been at the entrance of the plain; but concerning this it is difficult to form an opinion. There is no rivulet on the south side of the hills till the city is reached. This was the case when Mr. Hamilton travelled the road in the month of June, and when the author travelled the same line in the month of November, at which time the water-course between 'Akshéhr and 'Arkút Khán, described by Mr. Hamilton as dry, was full of water. There are only two wretched khans on the plain, which extends from the hills to Kóniyah, a distance of ten long miles, and hence there is reason to think that the army would stay on the west side of the hills, at or near the site of Laodicea.

Iconium was a city of renown from a remote antiquity. Strabo particularly alludes to its being well built; Pliny styles it Urbs celeberrima Iconium; and we learn from Cicero's letters to Atticus, that it was a place of considerable importance in his time. In the Acts of the Apostles we find it noticed as frequented by a great multitude of Jews and Gentiles; and in the *Ecclesiastical Notices of the Byzantine Empire*, it is placed first upon the list as a metropolis.

The fortunes of this city were various; but it was not, to judge from the remains of antiquity that it still presents, till it became the residence of the Turk Sultans of the Seljukiyan dynasty that it attained its highest eminence and grandeur. The crusaders under Godefroy de Bouillon were well received and hospitably entertained here, but the next crusade under Conrad (1146) was more unfortunate; for although they had obtained a previous victory over the Turks, they besieged the city in vain, and were obliged to retire. The rulers of the Lower Empire often mingled in the quarrels of the Seljukiyan Sultans with the other Turk princes, and John Comnenus met with a disaster under the walls of this city. It was sacked by Taïmúr, but restored to the Sultans. The last sultan, 'Alá-ad-dín II., died the prisoner of Michael Paleologus, and on this occasion 'Osmán Bey of Shúgut was declared sultan of the Turks, but Karamania did not become an actual possession of the Osmanlis till the time of Muhammed II.

The distribution of the walls, which belong to different ages, but are chiefly Turkish, is remarkable, and has been represented in a posthumous work of Niebuhr. But it is to the Muhammedan period that it owes the most remarkable of its existing edifices, the most striking of which are its mosques, and at the head of which is that called Sheríf Altún, and sometimes, from the height of its minarehs, Injemi minaréh jami, 'the jami or mosque, with the minareh reaching to the stars,' next is that of Sultan 'Alá-ad-dín, and after it the jami of Sultan Selim, of the Osmanli dynasty. The style and decorations of these jamis are very beautiful; the tracery, fretwork, and mouldings, are of exquisite delicacy; the minarehs are chiefly of glazed tiles and bricks of various colours; and altogether they constitute graceful and finished specimens of Saracenic architecture.

There are at present within the precincts of Kóniyah the remains of upwards of twenty madresehs or colleges,

a number nearly equal to that of the city of the khalifs. The turbehs, imáms, Ziyárets, and other sepulchral chapels, are almost innumerable. Many of them are of great sanctity, and are to the present day, although in ruins, objects of veneration and of pilgrimage. Thus, in the journal of the sixth campaign of Suleïmán (1634), we find the sultan halting here to visit the tomb of Mevláná Jelálu'-d-dín Rumí, author of the Mesnáví, a much-admired ethical poem in Persian, and head of the Mevlévi order of dervishes.

Another interesting ruin is the old Turkish prison or dungeon, which forms part of the western wall, bearing some resemblance to a gothic castle, with its ruined towers, battlements, and keep. What tales of crime and woe and long suffering could these walls relate were their history inscribed on them! How many a chivalrous crusader may have pined away to an unrecorded death within these sad dungeons!

At the present day, the aspect of Kóniyah is probably more ruinous than in any period of its history. It is indeed the most fallen of all the great cities of Asia Minor. Its remains are straggling and irregular, and consist, with the exception of its public buildings falling into decay, and its crumbling walls, of low mud-houses with flat roofs. The Christians still adhere to the western and most ruinous quarter. The Osmanlis and Turkomans, or Karamanians, congregate around the market-place and mosques, which lie in the heart of the city, and which is again separated by a considerable extent of plain, naked, except when dotted by tombstones and sculptured turbans, from the pasha's palace, a large and straggling building in a very dilapidated state.

'From Iconium, Cyrus made in five days' march thirty parasangs through Lycaonia; which being an enemy's country, he gave the Greeks leave to plunder it.' From hence he sent Queen Epyaxa into Cilicia the shortest way,

and appointed Menon the Thessalian with his soldiers to escort her.

The account is given here of a very long journey, with a remarkable want of details regarding the stations from which the army received its supplies during so long a period. Luckily, the next station that is mentioned in the Expedition, Dana, or Tyana, is known to great nicety, and thus we have only to take off twenty-five parasangs, the distance marched through Cappadocia after parting with the queen, to Dana, and the point where it will intersect with the thirty parasangs carried through Lycaonia, will tally precisely with the entrance of that pass in the Taurus, which leads by Kizil Chésmeh and 'Alan Búżuḳ to Tarsus.

There are only three passes through Taurus in these regions. The first leads directly from Laranda to Múṭ and Selévké (Seleucia), and is the longest and most devious. The second, and this is the pass in question, leads by Kizil Chésmeh and 'Alan Búżuḳ, Káráḥisár, and Mézetlí, to Soli, or Pompeiopolis, and to Tarsus. This is also the pass by which the route laid down in the Peutinger table led from Iconium to Pompeiopolis, passing by Tetra-pyrgia. It is the shortest and most direct of the passes, but presents great difficulties to an army, and there are said to be many caves and ruins on its course. The third is the celebrated Cilician gate, the 'Tauri-pylæ' of Cicero, and the Gölék Bógház of the Turks.

Thus it appears that Cyrus conducted his royal companion as far as to the entrance of the central pass in Taurus, from whence he forwarded her with an escort across the mountains into Cilicia. It is well known that in ancient times many cities flourished in these parts of Lycaonia, and they must have constituted objects worthy of plunder, or fit stations for provisioning on so long a march. Such were the towns of Lystra and Derbe, to which, 'and the region that lieth about,' the apostles

Paul and Barnabas fled, when driven from Iconium. Such also were Laranda, a site not without celebrity, Parlais, Olbasa, Onasada, &c. &c.

Cyrus thus effected several objects by this movement. He put most of the rich cities of Lycaonia under contribution, and thus won favour with his army. He at the same time forwarded a body of troops to Tarsus, the capital of the Cilician king, so as to effect a diversion in his favour, the king being occupied in putting the Cilician gates into a state of defence. He further performed a more polite action, by conducting the queen to the foot of Taurus, than if he had proceeded by Barathra and the nearer road to Tyana, as Mr. Hamilton supposes, and sent her away just where it suited his own convenience. The reason of his returning himself to Tyana, was to allow time for his troops to arrive at Tarsus, and draw Syennesis from the Cilician gates, or, as it afterwards turned out, through the influential interference of his friend Epyaxa, to obtain a free and unopposed passage of his army through those passes, which the necessities of the soil obliged him one way or the other to obtain the command of, and which might have been easily defended by a small body of men against a considerable army.

Dana, or Tyana, was in subsequent times the capital of the prefectorate of Tyannitis in Cappadocia. It was most remarkable, as related by Strabo, for being at the head of or near to the Cilician gates, by which there was an easy passage into Cilicia, and thence into Syria. It was built, according to the same authority, on a koma, or mound, originally raised by Semiramis. The plain of Tyanitis was celebrated for its fertility, and Tyana became in Byzantine times the seat of a christian bishop, and a synod was held there. It is alluded to by Ovid in his Metamorphoses, by Vopiscus, and by Ammianus, who conducts Jovian through this town in his retreat from Mesopotamia. This latter historian relates of Tyana, that the learned philosopher Apollonius was

born there, and that near it, at the temple of the Asbamæan Jove, was a stagnant fountain, which was always plentifully supplied with water, but which being re-absorbed, never flowed over its margin. Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius, also describes this fountain as sacred to Jupiter, and as being very cold, although bubbling up like a boiling caldron[1]. Mr. Hamilton first rediscovered this fountain in modern times. It is situated in the middle of a perfectly flat plain, and is about forty feet in diameter, full of brackish, turbid water, bubbling and boiling all over, particularly in the center, where a violent jet rises to the height of nearly a foot, being a foot and a half in diameter, with considerable noise; and yet the water never rises or overflows its banks, nor does any stream escape from it. The water is quite cold, and emits a slight smell of hydrosulphurous acid. Near the spring was a hill of fibrous and compact white gypsum, apparently deposited by the waters; and lying on this hill was an elegant fluted marble altar, with a large hole bored through it. It would appear from this very probable that the worship of the place, as with the Persians, was accompanied by the combustion of the natural gases, conducted by a pipe through the center of the altar, and from the slight smell of hydrosulphurous acid being perceptible when such a quantity of gas was given off, it is probable that a careful analysis would indicate the presence of other combustible gases, as at Corcura, besides sulphuretted hydrogen.

About two miles north of this lake in the modern village of Ḳíz Ḥiṣár, 'Girls' Castle,' or Ḳilis Ḥiṣár,

[1] The waters of the fountain Asbamæon are also described as being beneficial and pleasant to honest persons, but pestilential to those who were guilty of perjury. When perjured persons drank of the water, it produced a disease of the eyes, dropsy, and lameness, so that the guilty persons were unable to walk away from the well, and were obliged to own their crime. (*Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog. and Mythol.* Art. *Asbameus.*)

built upon a low mound in the middle of the plain, and evidently the site of Tyana. The plain around is strewed with blocks of marble. The site is watered by a small stream, along the course of which are the remains of an ancient aqueduct. This rivulet rises from a small lake or pool, which is surrounded by numerous blocks of marble, and fragments of cornices and architraves. To the north-west of this are some caves in the face of the hills, one of the largest of which was carved all round with narrow round niches, like the windows and arches of a Byzantine church. The burial-ground in the neighbourhood is also full of columns, marble-blocks, &c. The koma, or mound, consists of loose sand, and there were many marble-blocks and old foundations in the walls of the houses, and in the pits dug near them. The modern town of Bór is about three miles north of Kíz Ilisár, and in its streets and buildings are many large blocks of stone and marble, and fragments of broken columns brought from Tyana.

The modern road from Kóniyah into Cilicia passes by 'Eréglí, which is not always approachable on account of the marshes that intervene between it and the Kárájah Ṭágh; at such seasons it is carried more to the northward. And from 'Eréglí it is not carried directly through Taurus, here called Bulghár Ṭágh, as marked in many maps, but for the first four hours to the magnetic N. 50 to 60 E., having all the time the plain of Tyana to the left. This shews that Tyana was in ancient times, as Bór and even further, Níghdeh, are in modern times, the best position from whence to watch, or to approach the Cilician gates. It is also to be remarked, that the line of road contained in the Theodosian tables, that passed by Congustos (Túsun U'yúk) and Perta (U'yúk Bowát), and crossed Strabo's route from Ephesus to Tomisa by Garsaura (Gelvedereh), was not prolonged by Barathra (Kárá Bínár), but crossed the low hills which constitute the easterly prolongation of the Ḥasan Ṭágh to Tyana. So also the route from Ancyra, contained in the Antonine

itinerary, was continued by Archelais Colonia ('Αρχελαΐς) and Andabalis (Andavil) to Tyana. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the road from Cæsarea was also prolonged by Andabalis to Tyana. This was then the point of union of many roads, and the most important place in the great thoroughfare to Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, or the countries beyond.

While Cyrus was at Dana, where he staid three days, he put to death Megaphernes, a Persian, one of his courtiers, with another person who had a principal command, accusing them of treachery.

From Dana he prepared to penetrate into Cilicia, the entrance to which is described as just broad enough for a chariot to pass, very steep, and inaccessible to an army, if there had been any opposition; and Syennesis was known to have possessed himself of the eminences, in order to guard the pass. But Cyrus' stratagem succeeded; for having staid another day on the plain, news was brought the day after by a messenger, that Syennesis had quitted the eminences, upon information that both Menon's army was in Cilicia, within the mountains, and also that Tamos was sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia, with the galleys that belonged to the Lacedæmonians and Cyrus. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, Cyrus immediately marched up the mountains without opposition, and made himself master of the tents in which the Cilicians lay to oppose his passage.

The Gölek Bógház is decidedly one of the most remarkable passes of Taurus. The road is carried at first over low, undulating ground, the waters of which flow towards the mountains. It enters them with the rivulets tributary to the Sarus, which have an easterly flow, and follows the waters for some distance, amid precipitous cliffs and wooded abutments, till they sever the main chain, which is composed of a somewhat narrow and rugged belt of limestone reposing on schists. The scenery at this point is very grand. Rocky projections, fallen masses, and steep naked cliffs,

rise one above the other, till buried in perpetual snows. The pass is however wide, and would permit of the passage of three chariots abreast. Beyond this, the road turns off to the south, up the course of a tributary, to the river previously followed. The pathway, carried over wooded rocks and hills, gains the head-waters of this second rivulet; an expansive upland here presents itself, which is the seat of the defences erected by the Egyptians. Beyond this the waters flow no longer to the Sarus, but to the Cydnus—the river of Tarsus. The pathway follows these, and they soon lead to a deep gorge, or fissure, in another lofty ridge of limestone rocks. This is the narrowest and most difficult portion of the pass. It is the point to which Xenophon's description applies as just broad enough for a chariot to pass, and that would be with great difficulty. This portion of the road bears evident traces of ancient chiselling, and must have been widened and repaired by various successive invaders; but large masses of rock have fallen down into the stony bed of the waters, and the road is perhaps less feasible in the present day, than it was in those of Xenophon or Alexander. This pass is now domineered over by a ruined castle, apparently belonging to Genoese times.

Below this pass vegetation becomes luxuriant, and affords abundant evidence of a change in climate on the Cilician side of Taurus. At a distance of five miles from this rocky gap is a khan, where the road divides itself into two branches, the one follows the course of the valley and of the tributaries of the Cydnus to Tarsus, the other passes over the adjacent heights, and by another rocky pass to the valley of the Sarus, and to the modern Adanah. On the road to Tarsus are the remains of an ancient causeway; numerous sepulchral grottoes are hewn out of the cliffs, and nearer to Tarsus is a semicircular arch or gateway, and a sarcophagus lying adjacent to it. An inscription on this part of the road was copied on the

occasion of our visit to it. This was the road followed by Cyrus and Alexander.

Beyond this pass the army is described as descending into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and full of all sorts of trees and vines; abounding in sesame, panic, millet, wheat, and barley. The plain of Cilicia Campestris is indeed almost everywhere remarkable for its fertility and beauty, but especially in the valleys of the rivers Cydnus, Sarus, and Pyramus. In its higher portions it is at present uncultivated, and covered with greensward; amid which abound the Christ's thorn, caper-plant, and mimosa agrestis. Every here and there rises a lonely Carob-tree, a feature which distinguishes these plains from almost all others in Syria or Asia Minor. On approaching Tarsus vegetation becomes more luxuriant, and cultivation and gardens supersede greensward. Sesame, panic, millet, wheat, and barley, are grown to the present day, but to them are added a considerable cultivation of cotton and rice, and the Egyptians introduced the sugar-cane, which flourishes very well in a district where the date-tree is indigenous.

This plain is described by Xenophon as surrounded by a strong and high ridge of hills from sea to sea. This, no doubt, alludes to the peculiarity of the Gulf of Alexandretta, which is surrounded by a range of mountains, the Taurus to the north, the Amanus to the east, and the Rhosus to the south.

Cyrus advanced through the plain, and having made five and twenty parasangs in four days' march, arrived at Tarsus. This evidently refers to the whole of the journey from Tyana to Tarsus, which occupied four days, and not to the march on the plain, which only occupied one day; and if the distance here given of seventy-five geographical miles is laid off upon the map illustrating my *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, it will be found, following the devious route through the pass of Taurus, which was not

correctly laid down previous to the publication of those travels, to correspond precisely with the actual and existing distance between those two places.

Tarsus, the rival of Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria, in wealth and grandeur, in literature and science, was at this remote period already a large and rich city of Cilicia; the palace of King Syennesis stood there, and the river Cydnus, which was two hundred feet in breadth, ran through the middle of it. The discussion which has arisen as to whether or not this is the Tarshish of the Old Testament, or whether that word applied to the sea generally, is well known to scholars. The Assyrian inscription, given by Arrian, as copied from the celebrated statue of Sardanapalus, and which so justly provoked the satire of Aristotle, would attest that it was founded by the Assyrians. Strabo, however, describes it as a colony of Argives. It was distinguished in the time of the Amasian geographer as a seat of learning and philosophy, and it will for ever preserve its fame among Christians as being the birth-place of the great apostle of the Gentiles.

The river Cydnus has obtained celebrity from having nearly killed Alexander, who imprudently bathed in its cold waters. The air of the place may have also had some influence in this sickness, for malaria prevails to a great extent at Tarsus. Amid numerous remnants of antiquity, which in the present day attest the former importance of this celebrated city, one occurs which, being simply a massive parallelogram of solid masonry, within an inclosure of the same form, appears to belong to a very remote antiquity. The late resident French consul carried on excavations in the hope of effecting some archæological discovery in this monument of primæval times, but his labours were not attended with success[1].

Tarsus was also a place of considerable commerce. Albertus Aquensis speaks of three thousand ships sailing

[1] It is supposed by Kinneir to be the tomb of Julian.

from the port of Tarsus; and in the present day the British consul loads an annual average of twelve vessels from the same port.

The city was abandoned by the inhabitants on the approach of Cyrus, they having fled with their king Syennesis to a fastness upon the mountains, those only excepted who kept the public-houses; but the inhabitants of Soli and Issus, who lived near the sea, did not quit their habitations. Soli was a colony, according Pomponius and others, founded by the Argives and Rhodians; but according to Diogenes Laertius, by Solon, who founded there a colony of Athenians, who gradually corrupting their own language, gave origin to the term Solæcism. This city was afterwads put under contribution by Alexander, and devastated by Tigranes, and Pompey confined to the same locality the pirates who troubled the neighbouring seas, and gave to the place his own name—Pompeiopolis. The ruins of this place exist near the site now called Mézetlí, on the coast. Issus was the last town of Cilicia to the east, as Soli was to the west; and will be alluded to hereafter.

Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had arrived at Tarsus five days before Cyrus. In the passage over the mountains into the plain two companies of Menon's army were lost. It was said by some, that, while they were intent on plunder, they were cut off by the Cilicians; and by others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the army, or gain the road, they wandered about the country, and were destroyed. The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-armed men. The rest, as soon as they arrived, resenting the loss of their companions, plundered both the city of Tarsus and the palace that stood there.

Cyrus, as soon as he entered the city, sent for Syennesis; but he, alleging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any person of superior power, declined coming till his wife prevailed upon him, and received

assurance from Cyrus. After that, when they met, Syennesis gave Cyrus great sums of money to pay his army, and Cyrus made him such presents as were of great value among kings; such as a horse with a golden bit, a chain, bracelets, and a scimitar of gold, with a Persian robe; besides the exemption of his country from further plunder; to which he added the restitution of the prisoners they had taken, wherever they were found.

Cyrus and the army staid twenty days at Tarsus, the soldiers declaring they would go no further; for they suspected he was leading them against the king, and said they were not raised for that service. Clearchus was the first who endeavoured to force his men to go on; but as soon as he began to march, they threw stones at him, and at his sumpter-horses, so that he narrowly escaped being stoned to death. Afterwards, when he saw that it was not in his power to prevail by force, he called his men together, and first stood still a considerable time, shedding many tears, while the soldiers beheld him in amaze and silence. He then addressed them, stating how he was engaged to Cyrus by the rights of hospitality, that he had received money from him, which he had laid out not on himself, but on them, and with them had made war on the Thracians, and with them had joined Cyrus, to repay the debt of gratitude: that he was now forced by their conduct, to abandon Cyrus or them, and that he had determined to give them the preference, and with them to suffer everything that might happen.

These things gave Cyrus much uneasiness, and he sent for Clearchus, who openly refused to go, but at the same time despatched a messenger privately, with encouragement that this affair would take a favourable turn. He then addressed his soldiers again, and insinuated that the position both of himself and them was not either void of shame or of danger, and it was advisable to consult upon the present posture of things. Upon this, some rose up of their own accord, and others by his direction, to give

their opinions, and to shew the difficulties either of staying or going without the approbation of Cyrus. One, pretending to be in haste to return to Greece, said, that if Clearchus refused to conduct them thither, they ought immediately to choose other generals; to buy provisions, and pack up their baggage; then go to Cyrus and demand ships of him to transport them, which if refused, they should request a commander to conduct them on through a friend's country; and if this also be refused, they should draw up a declaration of war, and send a detachment to secure the eminences, that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians could prevent their return.

After him, Clearchus spoke as being in readiness to obey any commander of their choice. Another then got up to expose the folly of asking for ships, or a guide from Cyrus; and pointing out that if they were to go away without the consent of Cyrus, they ought also to go without his knowledge, which was impossible. The speaker was of opinion that proper persons, together with Clearchus, should go to Cyrus, and ask him on what service he proposed to employ the Greeks; and to acquaint him, that, if the present undertaking was of the same nature as that in which he before made use of foreign troops, they would follow him, and behave themselves with equal bravery to those who attended upon him on that occasion; but if this enterprize was of greater moment and danger, that he should prevail on them by persuasion to follow him, or suffer himself to be prevailed upon to allow them to return home. By this means, if the Greeks followed Cyrus, they would follow him as friends, with cheerfulness; and if they returned, they would return with safety. This was resolved.

Having chosen ambassadors, therefore, they sent them with Clearchus, who asked Cyrus the questions appointed by the army; to which he made this answer: 'I am informed that Abrocomas, my enemy, lies near the Euphrates, at the distance of twelve days' march: therefore,

my intention is, if I find him there, to punish him, by leading my army against him; but if he flies from that place, I will there consider what we are to do.'

The Greek envoys made their report of this answer to the soldiers, who suspected the design of Cyrus to lead them against the king; yet they resolved to follow him, only they demanded an increase of pay, which was promised them. 'But it was not,' adds Xenophon, 'even then known that he intended to lead them against the king; at least, it was not public.'

Cyrus made from Tarsus in two days' march ten parasangs to the river Pharus, which was three hundred feet broad. The distance from Tarsus to the bridge of Adanah, where is the actual passage over the river Seïhún, is, in the map of Mr. Hamilton, constructed, in what refers to Cilicia, from documents furnished by Colonel Chesney, sixteen geographic miles. Leaving Adanah in the morning, Colonel Chesney and myself, who pushed on, did not arrive at Tarsus long before dusk, and Lieut. Murphy, who was engaged in taking the road bearings, not till some time after. This would make a distance rather of thirty miles than twenty; and we can only suppose, that if this is not the case, that Cyrus led his army, in order to obtain a fordable point, to some spot higher up than Adanah, of which city no notice is taken by the historian of the Expedition, although a town of great antiquity, so much so that it is fabled by Stephanus to have been founded by Adam, whence its name. The width of the river at Adanah corresponds to what is given by Xenophon, being, by my own admeasurement in December, three hundred and twenty-five feet wide at the bridge, but not fordable, It is by Xenophon alone called Pharus; all other historians and geographers of antiquity designate it by the name of Sarus, and the Turks call it the Seïhún. It has its rise in the elevated districts of Shohaïr, 'the little town,' north of the chain of Taurus, and flows through the plain of Cilicia, previously described, where it receives

the tributary which has its origin on the western side of Taurus, flowing through part of the passage of the Cilician gates, or Gölek Bógház. Adanah is in the present day a populous and commercial city, the seat of a pasha, surrounded by rich gardens and productive land, and presenting a rather singular appearance, from being built of red tiles, after the Roman fashion.

From the Pharus, the army made in one march five parasangs to the river Pyramus, which is one stadium, or 607·62 feet in breadth. The point at which the Pyramus is passed in present times on the road from Adanah to Syria is at Misís[1]—the ancient Mallus and Mopsuestia—and which is from fifteen to sixteen geographic miles from Adanah. But from whatever point the Greeks crossed the river Seïhún, there would be fifteen geographic miles of nearly level plain to traverse to gain the Jeïhún, as the Pyramus is now called. It appears however probable that Cyrus did not pass the river at Mopsuestia; in the first place, because the river is not wider at that point than the Seïhún at Adanah, although deeper, and it might, before becoming fordable, spread out to a stadium in breadth; and secondly, because there is no mention of Mopsuestia, which, although now reduced to a mere village, is of great antiquity, and certainly existed before the campaign of Alexander, and was most probably in existence in the time of Cyrus. The question then that remains, is, if the army passed the river above or below Mopsuestia. I have had personal opportunities of examining the Pyramus on the plain of Cilicia, as far as the ruins of the ancient Anazarba, and its bed is, throughout the plain, deep and narrow, from the nature of the soil, which is alluvial. I have also examined it at its embouchure, when on a survey of the Gulf of Isken-

[1] The ancient Mopsuestia or Malmistra, is now called Misís, an abbreviation of Missísah. See Report on the Expedition to the Euphrates, *Journ. of Royal Geographical Society*, p. 420.

derún, with the late Lieut. Murphy and Mr. Thomson, and in its lower part it divides into several streams on arriving at its delta. It was thus probably in the lower parts, as being most fordable, of the Jeïhún, and at the time when its embouchure was at Ḳárá-ṭásh, that the army of Cyrus was led across the Pyramus. This is further corroborated by the account given of the distance travelled by the army, from the Pyramus to Issus, recorded to be fifteen parasangs, or forty-five geographic miles, which is quite inconsistent with the supposition of the troops having passed at Mopsuestia, from which, to a point which shall be fifteen geographic miles north of the gates of Cilicia and Syria, or a little north of the Pinarus or Déli-chaï, (which corresponds to the distance given by Xenophon of Issus from the gates), would be only about thirty geographic miles, leaving a deficit of fifteen miles, which can only be accounted for by supposing the passage to have taken place as above, and the army to have marched round the south foot of the Jebel-en Núr, or 'mountain of light,' and crossing the plain of 'Ayás, by which route there is a distance of about forty-five geographic miles from the Pyramus to the Pinarus. It is shewn by Arrian, independent of the fifteen geographic miles north of Merkez, that Issus was north of the Pinarus, and not at Yúsler or Beler, as placed by Rennell, or at Bayás, by Williams; for Alexander is described by that historian as first capturing Issus, and then going next day to the Pinarus or Pindarus. Strabo also says, 'after Ægæ is Issus, a large town with a station, and then the Pinarus.'

It occurred in a similar manner in the expedition of Alexander, that Philotas, as recorded by Arrian, led the horse by the plain of Alieus, or 'Ayás, to the river Pyramus, and beyond that river to the Amanian gates.

The modern road from Miṣís to the gulf of Iskenderún leads first over the mountain of light, at the northern extremity of which is the king of the Serpent's Castle (Sháh Márán Ḳal'eh-sí), also called in Turkish Yílán Ḳal'eh-ṣí, or Serpent's Castle, Már being Persian; over-

looking the plain of 'Aïn-Zerbah. Beyond this is the plain of Chíḳúr-ováh, or 'of the ditch,' which is succeeded by the low hills of Ḳúrḳ Ḳúláḳ, or 'Wolf's ear,' where is a village and large ruinous khan. These hills descend by a narrow pass to the shore of the gulf of Iskenderún at the western extremity of the plain of Issus; and an archway of Cyclopean architecture, constructed of polygonal masses of basalt, not arranged in courses, and without cement, crosses this pass. These are the Amanian gates of Strabo, who says, 'After Mallus are Ægæ (now 'Ayás), a town with a station, then the Amanian gates with a station.' This gateway is separated from the sea by a rude knoll of basalt, which leaves no road between it and the water, so that the troops which came by the plain of Ægæ would equally have to pass by this gateway, as those who came by the road of Misís and Ḳúrḳ Ḳúláḳ. This I ascertained carefully on a third transit through these passes, the questions connected with which, in regard to the various armies which have marched through them, and to the different statements of geographers and historians, I was induced to make previously the subject of a distinct memoir, published in the third volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of London.*

This gate is in modern times designated as Temír Ḳapú, the 'Iron gate,' and Ḳárá Ḳapú, the 'Black gate.' Although of great antiquity, it was probably erected subsequently to the march of Cyrus, and it bears in its structure resemblance to the ruins at Nicopolis.

Below the Amanian gate are the ruins now called Matáḳh, belonging to the station described by Strabo as attached to the gates. This site is now characterized by an artificial mound, near to the sea-shore, several dilapidated towers, besides another defence, which, as the iron gates shut up the pass to the west, defends, and formerly cut off, the approach through the hills from the north. All along beyond this, from the station to the ruins of Nicopolis, traces of ruins, as of towers and arches, are to be seen, as also of a causeway, more inland than the present

road, which keeps along shore and avoids Castabala, and which is in many parts buried under sand-drift.

The ruins of Nicopolis, which in the dissertation previously quoted, I appear to have erroneously identified with Issus[1], were a discovery, which, notwithstanding the many travellers who have journeyed from Syria to Lesser Asia by these passes, remained to Colonel Chesney and his small party to effect. These ruins contain remnants of public and private edifices, constructed of black basalt, and bearing evidences of Roman origin. The remains of an acropolis, temple, theatre, and aqueduct, are still visible, as also those of several other buildings of a less defined character.

Between these ruins and the marshes of the Pinarus, and nearer to the sea, are other ruins scattered around an artificial mound called Kárá Kayá, 'the black rock,' with ruins of a castle on its summit. This appears to be the Castabala of antiquity, and the castle held by Alexander, near Issus, against Darius, and which is noticed as such by Cicero. Stephanus relates, that the city of Issus was called Nicopolis, from the victory of Alexander, but Strabo and Ptolemy make different towns of them; according to the Alexandrian geographer, Nicopolis succeeded to Castabala, and was at the head of the road, which is also given in the Antonine Itinerary, and which led to the Zeugma at Rúm-Kale'h, by Aliaria and Gerbidisson, and was the same as that by which Darius passed the Amanus, so as to come in the rear of Alexander when he advanced toward Myriandrus. This is the pass which has been incorrectly called Amanian gates by Calisthenes, in Polybius, Q. Curtius, and by Cicero[2].

[1] Whether these ruins belong to Nicopolis or Castabala, or to both combined, or to Issus, certain it is they are the most extensive and remarkable of all those adjacent to the Gulf of 'Iskenderún.

[2] Arrian (II. 94) expresses the matter with his usual correctness of detail. 'Darius,' he says, 'having passed the mountain which is *near to* (κατά) the Amanian Gates,' &c.

The distances given in the Antonine Itinerary are

	Geo. Miles.	Yards.
From Ægas ('Ayás) to Catabolon, 26 M.P. equal to	20	1456

As determined by Lieut. Murphy:

From 'Ayás to Kárá Kayá	16
From 'Ayás to ruins	19

Antonine Itinerary:

From Catabolon to Bais...16 M.P. equal to . . .	12

As determined by Lieut. Murphy:

From Kárá Káyá to Bayás	13
From ruins to Bayás	15

Thus the distance from Bayás to Kárá Kayá, would identify Kárá Kayá with Castabala, while that from 'Ayás would identify the ruins with the same site. But I am inclined to attach most importance to the shorter of the two distances, as it was determined by itinerary, while the distance from 'Ayás to the ruins was determined by a boat survey under particular disadvantages.

The upper part of the course of the Pinarus did not present to our anxious research any traces of ruins, but such exist in abundance in the shape of hewn stones and rude masses of brick-work, bearing evident signs of antiquity, in the villages and hamlets which occupy the central portion of the Yúsler rivulet, and the Kóï-chaï, both tributaries of the Déli-chaï, or Pinarus, and which extend far away to the north of the latter river, on the great road to 'Urzín, fringed with groves of pomegranate and orange-trees.

At the site of the Baiæ, or baths of the Romans, there is now a splendid Saracenic structure, combining citadel, mosque, a covered bezesteïn, an elegant khan and baths; altogether one of the most perfect and compact things of its kind I have seen in the East. It is said to have been erected by Ibráhim Khán Zádéh, vizier to Sultán Suleïmán II. Nearer to the shore is another small Genoese castle, with an adjacent village. This town of Bayás was identified by Williams with Issus,

which is directly opposed to the statements of Arrian and Strabo, besides that it does not agree with the distribution of other sites.

Cyrus staid three days at Issus, which is described as being at that time a large city, rich, and well inhabited, and the last town of Cilicia, situated near the sea. During this time he was joined by Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, with five and thirty ships from Peloponnesus. They were conducted from Ephesus by Tamor, an Egyptian, who brought with him five and twenty other ships belonging to Cyrus, with which he had besieged Miletus. With these ships also came Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, whom Cyrus had sent for, with seven hundred heavy-armed men, which he commanded under Cyrus, before whose tents the ships lay at anchor. Hither also four hundred heavy-armed Greeks came over to Cyrus from Abrocomas.

Cyrus made in one march five parasangs from Issus to the gates of Cilicia and Syria. These were two fortresses, of which the inner, next Cilicia, was possessed by Syennesis, with a guard of Cilicians, and the outer, next to Syria, was said to be defended by the king's troops. Between these two fortresses ran a river called Kersus, one hundred feet in breadth. The interval between them was three stadia, and through which it was not possible to force a way; the pass being narrow, the fortresses reaching down to the sea, and above were inaccessible rocks. In both these fortresses stood the gates. In order to gain this pass, Cyrus sent for his ships, that by landing his heavy-armed men both within and without the gates, they might force their passage through the Syrian gates, if defended by the enemy; which he expected Abrocomas, who was at the head of a great army, would attempt. However, Abrocomas did not do this, but as soon as he heard Cyrus was in Cilicia, he suddenly went back to the king, with an army consisting, as it was said, of three hundred thousand men.

At the point here indicated, the Jáwur Ṭágh or Amanus approaches so closely to the sea, as to leave but a narrow space between mountain and water, for the passage of an army. But it is difficult to conceive why the ancients should have preferred defences of so slight a character, and so easily turned by boats or ships, to the formidable pass of Beïlán, by which the Amanus must be crossed to enter into Syria, strictly speaking. It is true, that for the purposes of commerce the Syrians may have made an important point of preserving a port on the gulf of Issus, which appears in Xenophon's time to have been a part of Phœnicia. And these gates were the line of demarcation, as Xenophon describes, between their possessions and those of the Cilicians; but the most favourable point for Abrocomas to have opposed the enemy, and which he shamefully neglected, was the Beïlán pass.

The Merḳeż-sú appears not only to be the Kersus of Xenophon, but also the Andricus of Pliny. The French annotators of Pliny have suggested an identity between a Syriac word analogous to Kersus, and the Egyptian Kamses, the name of a ferocious crocodile, ascertained by De Blainville to be a different species from the Sucko, which probably gave its name to Succoth, and was worshipped by the Egyptians. The Crocodilon Flumen was called by Ptolemy χερσίας. Part of the Amanus was also, according to Pliny, called *Mons Crocodilus*. The word Kersus, derived from a Syriac or Coptic idiom, is met with in the Axiokersus or Akiokersa of the Samo-Thracian mysteries, and it has been explained by Zoëga as the type of great fecundator, or fecundatrice. Hence evidently Pliny's acceptation of Andricus for Kersus.

The Merḳeż-sú, issuing from a narrow and steep gap in the mountains, has a village at the foot of the hills on its north side, and at a little distance on an advancing hill is a Saracenic castle. Flowing onwards it divides into two branches, one of which goes nearly directly to the sea, the other, after losing itself in a small marsh,

issues as a goodly stream into the gulf at a distance of about a mile and a half north of the direct branch. This first or northerly stream is passed by a bridge, and a little distance further south are ruins on the shore, of the termination of a wall or gate. At a distance of about six hundred yards corresponding to the three stadia of Xenophon are the more perfect ruins of a wall, which can be traced amid a dense shrubbery, from the mountains down to the sea-shore, where it terminates in a round tower. The other branch of the Kersus flows into the sea about five hundred yards south of this second wall. A little beyond to the right is the Saracenic castle called Merkez in the *Mecca Itinerary;* and beyond that, about nine hundred yards, and where the hills come down actually to the shore, are the remains of a gateway known to sailors as Jonah's pillars, but which have been not improbably identified with the point reached by Alexander, when, hearing that Darius had crossed Amanus with his army, he returned and delivered the battle of the Pinarus so unfortunate to the Persians. There is every reason to suppose that the river Kersus was kept in one stream by the ancients, and which might very easily be effected in the present day, flowing, as Xenophon describes it, between the two walls, and it might then have attained the width of one hundred feet.

Cyrus having carried this pass without opposition, proceeded through Syria, and in one march made five parasangs to Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by the Phœnicians, and which being a mart-town, where many merchant-ships lay at anchor, they continued there seven days: a distance of fifteen geographical miles from Merkez would take us half way from Iskenderún (Alexandria) to Arsús (Rhosus), but the site of Myriandrus has not yet been positively determined. On the occasion of the survey of the gulf of Iskenderún by Lieut. Murphy and his party, we visited Arsús, where are many ruins, and especially a long acqueduct leading from the moun-

tains; but we took boat from thence to Iskenderún, much to my regret, as I have no doubt we should have met with indications of the city in question by keeping to the land. It is evident that Myriandrus and the town subsequently named after Alexander were not the same, for Strabo mentions both, and in the following succession: Rhosus, Myriandrus, and Alexandria. This Alexandria, the Alexandretta of the Levantines, and Iskenderún of the Turks, was distinguished by the ancients as Alexandria ad Issus. The superior genius of Alexander was shewn in this, as in several other cases, in selecting this as a site preferable to Myriandrus, and it has ever since remained a port of much importance on the coast of Syria, on which it is well known as also being the best harbour[1].

While Cyrus was at Myriandrus, Xenias the Arcadian general, and Pasion the Megarean, took ship, and putting their most valuable effects on board sailed away. It was the general opinion that this was owing to their resentment against Clearchus, whom Cyrus had suffered to retain the troops that left them, and who had put themselves under his command with a view of returning to Greece, and not of marching against the king. As soon therefore as they disappeared a rumour was spread that Cyrus would follow them with his galleys. 'And,' says Xenophon, 'some wished that, having acted perfidiously, they might be taken; others pitied them if they should fall into his hands.'

Cyrus upon this immediately assembled together the general officers, and spoke thus to them: 'Xenias and Pasion have left us, but let them be assured that they are not gone away so as to be concealed (for I know whither they are going), neither are they escaped (for

[1] Ptolemy places Myriandrus twenty minutes south of Alexandria, which corresponds to the position here assigned to it of half-way between Alexandria and Rhosus.

my gallies can come up with their ship). But I call the gods to witness that I do not intend to pursue them, neither shall any one say, that while people are with me I use their service; but that when they desire to leave me I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their fortunes. Let them go therefore, and remember they have behaved themselves worse to me than I to them. Their wives and children are under a guard at Tralles[2]. However, not even these shall they be deprived of, but shall receive them in return for the gallant behaviour they have formerly shewn to my service.' The Greeks, if any before shewed a backwardness to the enterprise, seeing this instance of Cyrus' magnanimity, followed him with greater pleasure and cheerfulness.

'After this Cyrus in four days' march made twenty parasangs, and came to the river Chalus, which is one hundred feet broad, and full of large tame fish, which the Syrians look upon as gods, and do not suffer them to be hurt any more than pigeons.'

Xenophon is remarkably silent concerning the difficulties met with during this part of the journey, and as to the localities used for rest or refreshment during four days' march. The Amanus had to be crossed by the narrow pass of Beïlán, which although nothing in comparison with the Cilician gates, still presents difficulties worthy of notice. The plain of 'Umk, north of the lake of Antioch, is watered by three different streams; the Ḳárású, the Aswád, and the 'Afrín, corresponding to the Labotas, and the Ænoporas, and Arceuthus of the ancients. The silence of Xenophon with regard to these

[2] This was an ancient and opulent city of Lydia, the ruins of which now alone remain upon the table-land that advances from Mount Messogis, and which reaches down to the modern town of Aidin. Notwithstanding its proximity to Smyrna, so little was this country known in Chandler's time, that he has laid down these ruins as those of Magnesia ad Mæandrum, nor was the error rectified until the real and undoubted ruins of Magnesia were discovered, in 1803, by Mr. W. R. Hamilton, at Eyineh Bázár, situated much nearer the Mæander.

streams, and to the lake of Antioch, has given origin to various surmises on the part of the commentators of the Anabasis. Rennell has supposed, in consequence of this silence and of that of Strabo, that the lake did not exist at that time[1]; and Forster in his *Geographical Dissertation*, has made this one of the grounds for supposing that Xenophon kept no journal, or at least no regular one of the Expedition, but that he drew it up a great many years afterwards. The road over Mount Amanus by Beïlán, the Bomitæ or 'altars' of Pliny, descending by ancient Pagræ, leads across a level and marshy plain, over which it is carried at some distance from the lake. The rivers in this plain are fordable, nor would they have offered any remarkable obstacle to the army. The 'Afrín, flowing from the plain of Gindarus, 'an apt receptacle for thieves,' as Strabo calls it, is also fordable; from hence they had a rocky barren country without sites to the river Chalus, which has been generally, and now that the distances have been more accurately determined, we can say correctly, identified with the Châlib or Ḳoweïḳ, the river of Aleppo. But Rau-

[1] Rennell (*Illust.* p. 65) is inclined to think that the Lake of Antioch, with its contiguous marshes and bogs, did not exist in the time of the Expedition, but must have been formed since the date of ancient history. For, he remarks, one can hardly reconcile it to probability, that Strabo should have described the plain of Antioch, or rather the plain situated below Pagræ, with the three rivers, Labotas, Ænoporas, and Arceuthus, besides the Orontes, as flowing through it, without mentioning at the same time, had it existed, a lake of more than ten miles in length, by seven in breadth, which occupied the centre of the plain, and served as a receptacle to the three first of these rivers. Notwithstanding this silence of antiquity upon so remarkable a physical feature in the geography of these regions, I am not prepared, from an investigation of local circumstances, having boated across the lake and along its several tributaries, as well as its outlet to the Orontes, to coincide in opinion with the learned commentator, that some obstruction formed in the bed of Orontes caused this inundation, with its extensive marshes and bogs; the recent (historically, and not geologically speaking) formation of this lake, is also opposed by the extensive deposit of lacustrine marles and alluvia, which spread over the plains of 'Umḳ. (See *Researches*, &c. p. 299.)

wolf having said that there is a scarcity of fish at Aleppo, a demurrer was made to this identification, but without much reason, because, in the first place, in the time of Xenophon the fish were sacred, and not being destroyed must naturally have been more abundant than at present; but even in the present day the Châlib abounds in fish, as I have had an opportunity of satisfying myself on several occasions at Aleppo, and on different points of its course; and on the occasion of a journey made in the higher country in company with Colonel Chesney, in 1836, we made the interesting discovery, that the principal tributary of the Châlib in the mountains is called Balóklú-ṣú, or 'Fish river.'

The history of the origin of the superstitious reverence for fish that obtained among the Syrians is given at length in Diodorus, and is corroborated by Lucian of Samosat, who must have been well acquainted with the traditions of his own country. 'There is in Syria,' says Diodorus, 'a city named Æscalon, and near it a lake abounding with fish, in the vicinity of which is the beautiful temple of the goddess Derceta. What gave birth to the worship of the fish is, the fable of Venus meeting Derceta, and making her fall in love with a handsome young man who sacrificed to her shrine, and by whom she had a daughter; that the goddess being ashamed of her misdeed, banished the father, exposed her child in a desert to be fed by birds, and went and threw herself into this lake with a view of drowning herself, when she immediately became metamorphosed into a fish. Hence the Syrians abstain from eating fish of this kind (not mentioning what kind), but worship them as divinities. The daughter fed by pigeons or the birds of the wilderness, became the adopted child of Simma, and was called Semiramis, that is, Simma's bird-child.' The term Derceta is Syriac, the Greeks called her Derceto, and the Latins derived Dea-Cetæ, that is, fish-goddess, from it. She is represented by painters with the face and body of a

woman, and the tail of a fish. Pliny relates that as late as in his time the monstrous Atargatis, called by the Greeks Dercето, was worshipped at Bambyce or Hierapolis, the Syrian Magog. Ælian, in his *History of Animals*, also describes the sacred fish as being at Bambyce, called by Seleucus, Hierapolis. Strabo notices the name Atargatis as synonymous with Atharan, and Cellarius carries out the identity to Astarte and Astoreth.

The most interesting fact connected with this ancient tradition, founded, no doubt, on the oriental worship of the principle of fecundity, is that at U'rfah—the Edessa of the middle ages, and the Ur of the Chaldees—there still exists a pond, enshrined in a marble basin, and designated as the Bírḳet el Ibráhím el Khálil, "the lake of Abraham the beloved," which is full of fish—a species of barbel, not carp, as related by some, and venerated by the natives. Close to this reservoir is the mosque of Abraham, to which indeed the lake is attached. This is one of the most light and elegant edifices of the kind in Asiatic Turkey. It is a square building surmounted by three domes of equal size, and a slender graceful minaret rises up from amidst a grove of tall cypresses. Near the mosque is another small lake, called 'Aïn el Zilghah. I found, at a second visit to this place, that the waters supplying these ponds are at a temperature above that of the mean annual heat of the place, and consequently slightly thermal. I believe also that they seldom freeze in winter. It was from these beautiful fountains that the Greeks named the place Callirrhoe, "the beautiful fountain." Indeed, no language can be too lavish to express the beauty of the site: overshadowed by trees, the waters ripple through clean white marble basins, embosomed amid groves, and structures full of Saracenic grace, and only towered over by the vast ruins of the rock-built castle. The propagation of this superstition of a remote antiquity down to actual times, is a circumstance of some interest, as illustrative of the

permanence of tradition[1]. The Syrians and Mesopotamians do not however refuse to partake of the same fish, when taken from the Chálib in the present day, as I have seen them sold in the markets of Aleppo and 'Aïntáb. On the occasion of a hurried visit made to Hierapolis in 1836, we did not find any lake with fish within the precincts of that city, but we heard of the existence of a remarkable spring with fish at some short distance from the ruins.

The villages in which the army encamped on the banks of the Chalus belonged to Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus, and were given to her for her table, or, according to some commentators, for her girdles.

Thirty parasangs more, in five days' march, brought the army to the source of the river Daradax, the breadth of which was one hundred feet, having near it the palace of Belesis, who was formerly governor of Syria, with a very large and beautiful park, producing everything proper to the season. Cyrus laid waste the park and burned the palace.

The river Daradax, and the site of Belesis, have been sought for by some in the small stream which flows across the plains of Syria between Aleppo and the Euphrates, and which loses itself in a salt lake, or marsh, in the same territory. But it is sufficient to lay down on any map the total distance of one hundred and fifty geographical miles from Myriandrus to the Euphrates, to be satisfied, after the constant accuracy which we have hitherto found in the distances given by Xenophon, and the total absence of any necessity to force these admeasurements to our own conceptions, that the Chalus is

[1] Colonel Rawlinson obtained information (*Journ. of R. G. S.*, Vol. ix. p. 83) of a large reservoir containing sacred fish, at the supposed tomb of Daniel at Susán, but Mr. Layard (*Journ. of R. G. S.*, Vol. xii. p. 104) has ascertained that no such fish now exist in the neighbourhood of that ruin. Baron de Bode has since found them at Táshún in Luristán. *Journ. of Royal Geo. Society*, Vol. xiii. p. 88.

represented by the Châlib, or Ḳoweïk, and that the Daradax must have been at or near the Euphrates. The silence of the historian, at this part of his narrative, as to the river Euphrates, is certainly extraordinary, but so also, it may be remarked, is his silence with regard to the same river, till the army arrived at Thapsacus, yet it cannot be for a moment doubted but that the army followed the banks of the river to Thapsacus; for in the Syrian plains or solitudes they would have been without points of rest, without provisions, and, what would have been far more insupportable, without fresh water. I can only suppose that the silence observed upon the subject was purposely observed, as it was at or near the Euphrates that Cyrus had stated he expected to meet his enemy Abrocomas, and the distrust at his movements, which was ready to break out every moment, was by this means delayed till about to cross the great river at Thapsacus.

Nothing however serves to illustrate this portion of the Anabasis so much as the existence of an ancient site, called to the present day Ba'lis, peculiarly positioned with regard to the Euphrates, and at a point where that river would be first approached on coming across northern Syria in a direct line trending a little southward, and corresponding at the same time with the distances given by Xenophon.

There exists at Ba'lis the ruins of a Roman castle, built upon a mound of ruins of greater antiquity, and separated by a plain of nearly a mile in width from the Euphrates, from which, apparently, a canal was taken in ancient times to wash the foot of the city, and which separated the large park from the main land. This stream, the channel of which is not only still perfectly evident, but is at certain seasons full of water, appears, in the absence of better data, to have been the Daradax of Xenophon. It was about one hundred feet wide, the Euphrates being above three times that width. The

plain of Ba'lis being composed of alluvial soil, is rich and productive, and is covered with grasses, flowering plants, jungle and shrubs. It abounds to the present day in game, among which were wild boars, francolin, quails, landrails, &c. Wild animals were also frequent, jackals and foxes herding in the ruins of the castle, and Capt. Lynch saw a lion in the same neighbourhood. There is every reason to believe then that this was the seat of the park of Belesis, the more especially as all beyond and westward of this low plain is an elevated dry upland of gypsum and marles, which produce nothing but a few spare bushes of wormwood, and the usual aromatic plants of the wilderness. Colonel Chesney and myself made several excursions from Ba'lis in search of the fountain of Fay, identified by Rennell with the sources of the Daradax, without any further success than to lead to strengthen the belief, that by such an expression is meant the point at which the channel of the Daradax is taken from the Euphrates[1].

To these strong evidences of suitability and identity, may be added the equally strong argument of the preservation of name.

The word Ba'l, Baal, Bel, or Pul, is alike common

[1] Xenophon makes the fountain one hundred feet wide at its sources, which tends to shew that the origin of a canal is meant, rather than the source of a river.

The so-called fountain of Fay was brought into notice by a party of gentlemen who visited Palmyra from Aleppo in 1691, as recorded in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1695. The source of this fountain or rivulet is said to be at the distance of an hour's journey, or three or four miles from the Euphrates, into which it discharges itself: and in respect of Baulus (Ba'lis), the Barbalissus of the Theodosian tables and of Ptolemy, it is taken to be about twelve or thirteen miles to the north-westward. (Rennell, p. 68). The Euphrates' Expedition did not find any stream flowing into the Euphrates at the point here given, and on several occasions Colonel Chesney and the Author rode out expressly in search of it, but without success. The ruins or traces that may still exist of Eraciha or Eragiza, said by Rennell to be represented by the modern Rajík, require to be examined before this question is definitely settled; we sailed past the site of Eragiza, and consequently did not examine it closely.

to the Chaldean, Syriac, Sabæan, Hebrew, and Arabic languages, and cannot be looked upon, as is done by some antiquarians, as of Hebrew origin. Ba'l, regarded as the sun, was worshipped as the giver of light, and the governor of all things. His worship became astronomical, when the motions of the heavenly bodies were studied, and the position of the other stars were brought into co-ordination with the position of the sun in the heavens. It is in this light that Pliny's statement of Belus being the father of mythology, must be viewed. Ba'l became a part of the heroic mythology when regarded as the father of Nimrod, or as the mighty hunter himself.

The worship was transferred with little alteration from the Phœnicians, who designated the deity as Belsamene, to the Carthaginians. The worship of the sun attained its greatest eminence among the Medes and Persians, and this adoration assumed its psychological form under Zerátusht, or Zoroaster. From them probably the same worship was made known to the Scythians, and to the nations of the north. The Romans became acquainted with the worship in its original territory, and engrafted it, as usual, in their own Pantheism as Jupiter Belus.

The adoration of the sun preserved in the Helioarkite, or Druidic mythology, all its original eastern purity. There are thus several distinct origins to which the shadowy remains of this ancient worship can be traced in the British isles: the propagation of an early fire-worship by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians in Ireland, and the south-western coasts of England, and the introduction of a modification of the same worship by the Scandinavians on the northern coast, and by the Saxons into England generally. Even Christianity received an impression from the same worship, as preserved in the burning of fires upon high mountains upon the eve of the festival of St. John.

Just as Oziris or Menes, probably the same person

with Mizraim, the grandson of Noah, and whose statue, inscribed as Menei, is found sculptured on one of the internal walls of the Ramesseion of Thebes, amid a vast scene of religious pomp, was worshipped in Egypt, the kingdom which he had founded; so Ba'l or Belus, who, according to profane historians, was the founder of Babylon, and the same as the Nimrod of Holy Writ, was worshipped on the banks of the Euphrates. The title of Ba'l or Baal, became equivalent to that of Lord or Leader. The Babylonian monarchs distinguished themselves by prefixing it as a title, as in Balæus, Balochus, Baladan, Balshazzar, &c. The queen of Sheba was designated as Ba'lkis, and a dynasty of Syrian kings preserves the title of Belesis. Ba'lis or Belesis appears to have been one of the palaces and chief residence of the prince of this dynasty. It was known to the Romans by the name of Barballisus, apparently mis-written Barbarissus by Ptolemy, and was situated in the district of Chalcidene ad Belum; and it is supposed, by the learned commentators of Pancoucke's edition of Pliny, to have been the seat of that temple of Bel, or Belus, which existed after the destruction of the temple of Babylon, but which, from the distance given from Seleucia, was most likely at Birs Nimrúd[1].

'From the palace of Belesis, Cyrus made in three days' march fifteen parasangs, and came to the river Euphrates, which is four stadia in breadth, where being the large and flourishing city of Thapsacus, they remained five days.' The distance here given of forty-five miles corresponds precisely with the overland distance from Ba'lis to the ford celebrated among the Arabs as that of the 'Anezeh or Bedwíns. Rennell and D'Anville have been induced, from certain considerations, founded

[1] Colonel Chesney is inclined to seek for the fountain of Daradax at el Báb or Taïdif, on the river Dhahab, about sixty-four miles from Beïlán. There are said to be ruins near the fountain at that place.

on the supposed suitability of Deïr, as a pass of the Euphrates, and in ignorance of the existence of this ford, celebrated from all antiquity, to identify Thapsacus with that little Arab town. But it is two hundred and eleven miles by the river from Ba'lis to Deïr, and to get over this difficulty, these two distinguished geographers were obliged to suppose that Xenophon had, by an oversight, misplaced the distances of Belesis to Thapsacus (fifteen parasangs in the text), and from Thapsacus to the Araxes, a known point (fifty parasangs), and that it should have been fifty parasangs from Ba'lis to Thapsacus, and fifteen from Thapsacus to the Araxes.

It is satisfactory to discover, on referring to the territory travelled over, that there is no necessity whatsoever for this violation of the accuracy of our historian. There is only one ford in the central part of the Euphrates. This ford, as such, or as a bridge, was used also for the passage alike of Persian, Greek and Roman armies, and still more lately of Arabs, of Tatars and Turks. The river at Deïr is not more than three hundred yards in width, whereas at the ford of the Bedwíns it is, from the very circumstance of its shallowness, about eight hundred yards, or four stadia in width.

The Euphrates is at this spot full of beauty and majesty. Its stream is wide, and its waters generally clear and blue. Its banks are low and level on the left, but undulate gently to the right. Previous to arriving at this point, the course of the river is southerly, but here it turns to the east, expanding more like an inland lake than a river, and quitting, as Pliny has previously described it, the Palmyrean solitudes for the fertile Mygdonia.

On the right bank of the Euphrates there are the remains of a paved causeway leading to the very banks of the river, and continued on the opposite side. This causeway is of great antiquity. It is marked in the Augustan and Theodosian tables, and was carried from

Auranitis, by Palmyra to Babylonia; and from Palmyra, by Resapha and Sura, to Carrhæ [1], Edessa, and more remote countries. When Al-Mundar, christian prince of Hira, on the Euphrates, was restored by Nurshivan, after his deposition by Keï Kobád; the Gassanite prince, Arethas, appealed to the Latin name *strata*, of these paved causeways, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans.

A long line of mounds, disposed something like those of Nineveh, in the form of an irregular parallelogram, are all that remain in the same neighbourhood of the Thipsach, from whence Solomon had dominion over all the regions on this side the river, even to Gazzah. This Thipsach, or Thepsakhi, 'a pass or passing over a ford' of the Hebrews, became the Thapsacus of the Greeks and Romans.

On the plain on the opposite side is the prolongation of the causeway, and the ruins of a castle of more recent times, and beyond this are the double ramparts of Rakkah, formerly Callinicus and Nicephorium, where the Euphrates again resumes its southerly course.

Xerxes, who, according to Herodotus, crossed the Hellespont by a bridge of boats, in which one was tied to the other, had constructed a similar one at Thapsacus, but this was destroyed by Abrocomas on the approach of Cyrus. Alexander dragged over the boats necessary for the passage of the river, from the Mediterranean.

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[1] According to Gosselin, the merchants of Syria and Egypt passed, in ancient times, the Euphrates at Thapsacus, from whence they proceeded, by Ecbatanæ, to the Caspian gates. The trending of the river Euphrates to the south-east renders the passage at a higher point south of the parallel of Bírehjik, as at Hierapolis, Ba'lis or Ja'ber, of little or no advantage in proceeding eastward; for a barren country extends between the Euphrates and Carrhæ or Harrán, and Batnæ or Seruj, but these districts may be reached in safety by Thapsacus and the fertile valley of the Bílechá, the royal river of Strabo. Hence it will be understood why the Roman armies which were going east often took the same road as the armies bound for Babylonia.

This ford of the Euphrates, it is necessary to remark, the steamers *Euphrates* and *Tigris* passed over on a first navigation, in the month of May 1836, without difficulty; but the steamers *Nimrod* and *Nitocris* struck on it, when there was only twenty inches of water, from the months of October 1841 till February of the ensuing year.

Thapsacus appears to have become Sura in the time of the Roman Cæsars, for it is so called by Pliny, and also by Ptolemy. It is so written in the Tables of the Lower Empire, and is called in the Notitiæ of the Oriental Empire, *Flavia firma Sura.* The site is still designated as Suríyeh[1].

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[1] Forster (*Geo. Dissert.* p. 213) is irate with Calmet, who, he says, with the generosity of modern writers, takes for granted, without examining what difficulties such an assertion is loaded with, the statement of Strabo, that the Euphrates, where it runs through ancient Babylon, is only a stadium (six hundred feet) in breadth. 'Xenophon, who forded it himself, affirms, that this river is four stadia (eight hundred yards) broad at Thapsacus, above five hundred miles higher than Babylon; and all the world is sensible that rivers do not grow narrower the further they proceed in their course.' This proof is backed by the statement of Rauwalf (*Trav.* ii. c. 7), that the Euphrates is at Babylon half a league in width, and Diod. Siculus, who makes the bridge at Babylon five stadia (half a mile). Sir Thomas Herbert, it appears, also stated that the Euphrates at Babylon was well nigh double the breadth of the Thames at London. To all this we have only to answer, that not only does the Euphrates vary exceedingly in breadth in various places, accordingly as it is hemmed in by rocks and hills, or expanded over plains and shallows, but it also presents a marked phenomenon, opposed to what, according to Forster, all the world is sensible of, and that it is generally narrower in the lower part of its course than in the middle portions. This is owing to two causes: first, its passing through an alluvial plain, in all which cases rivers become deeper and narrower; and, secondly, its having many branches derived from it in that alluvial plain; and thus it is in no place, from Taurus to Kúrnah, where the Tigris joins it, so narrow as in the Babylonian marshes. From Bír to Felújah, the average width of the Euphrates is from three hundred to four hundred and fifty yards, while in the Babylonian marshes, near the encampment or town of Lemlúm, it is not more than fifty. We have the positive statement of Rich, that the width of the existing bridge at Hillah is four hundred and fifty feet, or, according to Niebuhr, four hundred and eleven feet. But it is not at all proved that this is the site of the bridge alluded to by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo as passing through Babylon.

Thapsacus, according to Stephanus, was known to the Syrians by the name of Turmeda; the transition from the Hebrew and Syriac, Sur to Tur, being frequent, as, for example, Tyre was by Hebrews, Chaldeans, and Syrians, called Sur (Bochart, *Geo. Sac.* p. 341), and Assur became the Atur of the Romans (Dion Cassius, LXVIII. c. 68). We have also the authority of Pliny for the identity of Amphipolis (the name it obtained under the successors of Alexander) and Thapsacus; for he says (v. c. 24), 'Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis.'

At Thapsacus, Cyrus, sending for the generals of the Greeks, told them that he proposed marching to Babylon against the great king, and ordered them to acquaint the soldiers with this his intention, and to persuade them to follow him. Hereupon, they called them together, and informed them of what Cyrus had said; but the soldiers were angry with their generals, saying, they knew this before, but concealed it from them, and refused to march unless they had money given them, as the other soldiers had, who before attended Cyrus to his father, and that not to fight, but only to wait upon him when his father sent for him. The generals immediately gave an account of this to Cyrus, who promised to give every man five minas of silver as soon as they came to Babylon, and their full pay till he brought them back to Ionia; by which means great part of the Greeks were prevailed upon; but Menon, before it appeared whether the rest of the soldiers would follow Cyrus or not, called his own men together apart, and exhorted them, in order to be, without danger or labour, in greater esteem with Cyrus than the rest of the army, to pass the Euphrates, before the answer of the rest of the Greeks was made known to him.

The soldiers followed his advice, and passed the Euphrates before the rest had returned an answer, which, when Cyrus heard, pleased him much, and he sent Glus to them, to say in his name, 'Soldiers! I praise you for what you have done, and will take care that you also shall

have reason to praise me; if I do not, think me no longer Cyrus.' Hereupon, the soldiers conceiving great hopes, prayed for his success; after which, having, as it was reported, sent magnificent presents to Menon, he, at the head of his army, passed the river, the water not reaching above their breasts, notwithstanding the inhabitants of Thapsacus declared that the river was never fordable before, or passable but in boats, which Abrocomas had burned, as he marched before them, to prevent Cyrus from passing over; it seemed therefore providential, and, as Xenophon continues, in a style partaking more of the courtier than of the historian, but probably influenced by the statements of the Thapsakians, that the river visibly submitted to Cyrus, as to its future king.

From Thapsacus Cyrus advanced through Syria, and having in nine days' march made fifty parasangs, came to the river Araxes, where, being many villages full of corn and wine, they staid three days, and made their provisions.

Xenophon here uses the term Syria as applicable to a portion of Mesopotamia, either through inadvertence, or as being the seat of villages and cultivated land, and thus distinguished from that part of Mesopotamia which is beyond the Araxes, and which, being almost solely tenanted by nomade tribes, is by the same historian called Arabia. The Romans, to whom, under the Cæsars, Cercusium on the Khaboras (Araxes) was long a limitrophal city, used to consider the districts on this side of Mesopotamia, including Anthemusia, Chalcitis, and Mygdonia, sometimes as in Syria, at others in Mesopotamia. Strabo also, with Pliny, considers the country lying between Thapsacus and the Scenite Arabs as Syria.

The distance given by Xenophon of one hundred and fifty geographic miles from Thapsacus to Araxes, corresponds precisely with the results obtained by the Euphrates Expedition, allowing for a land-journey, and avoiding the longer bends of the river. The distance by river from

the ford of the Bedwins to the Khábúr is about one hundred and seventy-four geographic miles, while from Deïr to the Khábúr is only thirty-six miles; a circumstance which of itself is sufficient to militate effectively against the latter being identified with Thapsacus.

The Khábúr is a large river, fed by the Jahjah, or Jakhjakhah, which has its sources in the Ḳárájah Ṭágh in northern Mesopotamia, and the river of Nisíbín, which has its sources in the Jebel Tur, in north-eastern Mesopotamia. The first receives tributaries from Rás'ul 'Aïn to the west, and Kóhrasár (Sinna), Márdín, and Dárá, to the east; the second receives the Ḥasáwí and other feeders, till these unite at a point not yet determined, on the plains of Mesopotamia, to form a river of such magnitude, that it was ascended for some distance by the steamer *Tigris*.

The Khábúr, El Khábúr of the oriental geographers and historians, was called Aboras, or Abboras, by Strabo, Zosimus, Ammianus, Procopius, and others. Ptolemy writes it Khaboras. It was the river which Trajan and Severus descended with their flats, constructed at Nisíbís with wood derived from the forests of the Masius (Jebel Tur).

Close to the junction of the Khábúr and Euphrates, to the north, is the modern Arab village of Ḳerḳísiyá, built amid the ruins of ancient Cercusium. This city is stated by Bochart, and many learned scholars, to be the Carchemis of Scripture, which was taken by Pharaoh Necko, and recovered by Nebuchadnezzar. Being a long time limitrophal of the Roman power in the East, it was well fortified and adorned with goodly buildings. The ruins of them I had not the good fortune to explore immediately, but from what I could see from the opposite shore of the Khábúr, imagine that there still remains much worthy of examination. 'The god Terminus,' says Gibbon, 'who had resisted the majesty of Jupiter, submitted to the authority of the king Hadrian, to the

infinite delight of St Augustine, and the resignation of the conquests of Trajan was the first measure of his reign.' Severus, however, re-established the boundary of the Roman empire, and, with varying fortunes, it remained for Diocletian so to repair and embellish a city shattered by a hundred conflicts, that Procopius gives to him the credit of its entire construction. Ammianus describes it, in the time of Julian, as a strong place adorned in an artist-like manner. The natural advantages of position rendered it, in the time of Cyrus, the seat of many villages, abounding in corn and wine. It is at the present day a fertile territory, although despoliated by the Arabs, and we were while in the neighbourhood much afflicted by musquitoes.

Beyond the Araxes, the army proceeded through what Xenophon designates as Arabia, and Strabo, the country of the Scenite Arabs, or such as live in tents; and who in the present day are represented by the Shammár tribe, roving in almost uncontrolled possession of the wide plains of Mesopotamia. Keeping the river Euphrates on their right hand, they made in five days' march through a desert thirty-five parasangs. 'The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic smell, but no trees appeared.' This description is so graphically correct, and so illustrative of the appearance of the uncultivated tracts generally, of the southern and middle portions of western Asia, that no traveller has published an account of his journeyings in these countries without quoting it, but always as applicable to some other tract of country, and none to the district in question. Having personally examined the country south of the Khábúr, I can vouch to the customary accuracy of the historian, only to a person of an hypercritical turn of mind, the expression, 'as level as the sea,' would appear a license; for the country, although very level and monotonous, still undulates considerably,

and differs in this respect very much from the truly level, alluvial plains of Babylonia.

Of wild creatures, says Xenophon, the most numerous were wild asses; an animal that is now extremely rare. It was with the greatest difficulty, and after long and frequent demands, that Colonel Chesney was able to obtain a skin of one of these animals, and which was believed to be that of the Equus Khur, or E. hemionus of naturalists. There were also not a few ostriches, now also become exceedingly rare, and almost entirely driven into the southern parts of Arabia, 'besides bustards and roe-deer, which our horsemen sometimes chased. The asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground of the horses, stood still, (for they exceeded them much in speed), and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again; so that our horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase. The flesh of those that were taken was like that of red deer, but more tender. None could take an ostrich; the horsemen who pursued them soon giving it over; for they flew far way; as they fled, making use both of their feet to run, and of their wings, when expanded, as a sail to waft them along. As for the bustards, they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, they making short flights, like partridges, and are soon tired. Their flesh was very delicious.' Dorcas was apparently a generic name among the Greeks for the deer-tribe, and I have little doubt but that the animal here alluded to is the ghazal of the plains, and the antilope dorcas of naturalists. It still abounds on the plains of Mesopotamia. Bustards, both the large and small species, are also frequent on the same plains, and also in Asia Minor. They are a very wary bird, and difficult to approach, which does not, as is advanced by Spellman, depend on their exquisite sense of hearing, but from the sight, and their frequenting chiefly wide and exposed plains. It has happened to me, in the stony

districts of Aleppo, to come close upon them. I have never heard of their being run down as Xenophon describes, but would not on that account think it impossible, especially if taken, as our author relates, by springing them hastily. The account given here of the amusements of the cavalry in the desert, if it does not speak highly of their martial discipline, according to modern ideas, manifests at all events a remarkable spirit, and a love of the excitement of the chase, such as is not frequently met with in modern warriors in the same countries.

At a distance of thirty-five parasangs, at least so I understand it, as Xenophon gives the amount of the next journey immediately afterwards, the army came to the river Masca, a hundred feet in breadth, surrounding a large city uninhabited, called Corsote. The distance here given from the Araxes, of one hundred and five geographical miles, would take the army to the site of Irzah, or Werdi, which is one hundred and ten geographical miles, by river, from the Khábúr, and which has attained a melancholy celebrity in recent times by the loss of the *Tigris* steamer, which took place within sight of the ruin-bearing cliffs, and close to one of the branches of the Masca river. This, as in the case of the Daradax, is a mere channel of the Euphrates, which is at the present day full of water, and being drawn from the river at a northerly point, empties itself by three different embouchures to the south, thus cutting off the site of the town from the mainland, and causing it, as Xenophon describes it, to be surrounded by water. The circumstance of the historian, in this case, lending a name to a channel of the Euphrates drawn for a very short distance from the main body of the river, tends to strengthen the evidence of his having done the same thing in the case of the Daradax[1]. Rennell, who had collected some in-

[1] Bell (*System of Geography*, Vol. iv. p. 169) supposes that in the time of Xenophon, and even up to that of Ptolemy, that the river Hu-

formation regarding the peculiar position of this headland of Irzah, from the works of Rauwolf, could not but acknowledge the fitness of the reference of Corsote to that place; but from the errors previously introduced into his determinations of the routes of Xenophon, he could not establish the identification to his own satisfaction. Without the advantages of the modern survey of the river, the determination of actual distances, and the immediate examination of the locality, Balbi boldly admitted the identity.

The ruins of Corsote are now level with the ground. Upon the plain, channel intersected, not a trace remains, but on the gypsum cliffs above many fragments of ancient buildings occur, and which with existing traditions point out this as the former site of an extensive and well-situated city. The great bend of the river, however, by keeping the ruins constantly in sight, is the cause of the astounding statement made by Rauwolf, and repeated by Balbi, regarding the time occupied in navigating round the ruins of Irzah, and which give a very exaggerated notion of their extent[2].

älli of oriental geographers (Saluk of Forbes's route, attached to Lynch's map), and the Saocoras of Ptolemy, flowed into the Euphrates as a separate stream, and was the same as the Masca of Xenophon, five marches from the Araxes or Khábúr; but that it now runs south-west to the Khábúr, instead of south-east by Al Hadhr to the Tigris, or direct south to the Euphrates, at Corsote. The fact is, that all the rivers of northern Mesopotamia, except such as to the west flow into the Bílechá—the river of Harrán and of Rakkah, and the small river of Al Hadhr, all flow into the Khábúr.

[2] Signor Balbi, who navigated the Euphrates in 1579, relates of the ruins of El Erzi, that they are situated on the north side of the river, on a hill of no considerable height, and with a level summit. In his idea the ruins were of greater extent than the city of Cairo. The neighbourhood presented to view nothing but portions of massy walls and lofty towers. Although aided by the current of the river, and the oars of his vessel, they employed the whole time between morning and noon in passing it.

'This,' says Rennell, (*Illust.* &c. p. 103) 'appears extravagant, until it is explained by the remarks of Dr. Rauwolf, who went the same route in 1574. It appears that the river in this place forms a peninsula, which required more than half a day to encompass;

The name Irzah, often pronounced by transposition Erzi and Werdi, appears to be of Hebrew origin, and if a modification of that of the Ezra of the Old Testament, the Masca of Xenophon may be the Ahava of scripture, and the city that of a colony of captive Israelites, to whom Ezra repaired, with happy news from Babylon. In the river off the same spot are some rocks, offering, when the waters are low, great obstacles to the navigation of the river, and called by the Arabs 'Is-Geríyá, but which, from their position on an alluvial plain, I am inclined to think will be found to be the piers of an ancient bridge at this spot, situated as it is where the road from Palestine and Damascus first comes in contact with the river[1].

Having made their provisions at Corsote, where they continued three days, the army made ninety parasangs, in thirteen days' march, through a desert, still keeping the Euphrates on the right, and came to Pylæ; during which marches many sumpter-horses died of hunger, there being no grass, nor any other plant, but the whole country entirely barren; the inhabitants being employed near the river in digging millstones, which they afterwards fashioned and conveyed to Babylon for sale, to buy provisions for their support.

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encompass; so that, in fact, Balbi and he made nearly the tour of the whole city.'

[1] Corsote, as Rennell remarked, is peculiarly situated, being on the great southern bend of the Euphrates, where it touches on the great desert-route between Syria and the head of the Persian gulf; and in which general position also stood, on the Arabian side, Ptolemy's city of Agamana, now represented by the ruins of El Káyim. This continues to be, in the present day, the spot where the caravans coming from the west reach the Euphrates; and it is the point at which Colonel Chesney launched his raft on a first descent of the river. It is on this account that I am inclined to think that the so-called rocks of 'Is Geríyá would turn out, upon examination, to be piers of an ancient bridge communicating with Corsote, and the countries beyond the river at this point; and which I am still more inclined to admit, from the circumstance of these obstructions to the navigation of the river occurring, not opposite, and as if a prolongation of the rocks of Irzah, but where the soil is low and composed solely of alluvium, as is the whole of the insulated portion of the left bank.

The distance here given of two hundred and seventy geographic miles, would bring the army, at the end of a very trying march of thirteen days, to a spot situated seventy-six geographic miles south of Hít, and eight geographic miles north of Felújah, and, according to the distances obtained by the river navigation, of ninety-four miles from Felújah to Hillah, one hundred and two geographic miles north of Babylon; but, according to the distances recorded in Xenophon, one hundred and eight geographic miles, making a difference of six miles—an error which must be placed rather to the account of the journey from Corsote to the Pylæ, than from the Pylæ to Cunaxa, on account of the irregularities of the first-mentioned country, as well as the length of the journey, it being full of hills and narrow valleys, and presenting many difficulties to the movement of an army, as are indeed recorded by the historian. The illustrator was, by a curious accident, left by the *Euphrates* steamer on this very portion of the river, and on the same side as the Perso-Greek army, and he had to walk a day and a night across these inhospitable regions, so that he can speak feelingly of the difficulties which the Greeks had to encounter.

The correction thus made of six miles, in a march of thirteen days through an irregular country, would place the Pylæ fourteen instead of eight miles north of Felújah; and this corresponds precisely with the district in which the hilly country ceases, and the low level alluvial plains of Babylonia commence.

The Pylæ thus situated, were by river navigation, and by the movements as recorded by Xenophon, seventy miles south of Hít, seventy-two miles north of Cunaxa, and one hundred and eight miles north of Babylon.

At the short distance of four miles below the Pylæ, thus situated, was the south-western termination of the wall of Media, or of Semiramis, now called the Khalú or

Sídd Nimrúd[1], marking the boundary of the plains, and the commencement of the hilly country. At the extremity of this wall, and on the plain, is a mound, surrounded by ruins, now called Sifeïrah, and corresponding to the Sipphara of Ptolemy, and the Sipparenorum Civitas of Abydenus. It appears also to have been at or near the Macepracta of Ammianus Marcellinus. Not far from the same place, but nearer to Felújah, was the Anbár of the khalifate, the capital of the Ancobaritis of Ptolemy, and the seat of the Abasside khalifs, before the foundation of Baghdád[2].

With respect to Xenophon's observations regarding the employment of the natives in these rude and rocky districts, in cutting millstones, it is not till we have got south of 'Anáh, and in the country neighbouring Haddisa, that we find a gritty siliceous rock alternating with ironstone, and intercalated among the marles, gypsum, and limestones of the country, capable of being used as a millstone, and for an account of which I may refer to my *Researches*, &c. p. 82. The existence of this rock in this

[1] 'Wall or embankment of Nimrod,' also, according to Capt. Lynch, called Motbakh, and sometimes Shistá'.

[2] D'Anville identified the Pylæ of Xenophon with the strait called Nazeríyá (Nazerya), described by Texiera, and which is nearly fifty geographic miles above the commencement of the Babylonian plains. Rennell thought, from the testimony of a Captain Evers, who travelled from Baghdád to Aleppo, in 1779, that the hilly tract extended only nine or ten hours' journey, or twenty geographic miles direct distance, below Hít. But this geographer acknowledges that he could not obtain from Olivier, Balbi, Texiera, or Evers, where the plain ends and the hilly tract commences, with any degree of exactness. This is not to be wondered at when we know the facts of the case, that the hills in the interior descend considerably more to the southward to the east of the river and away from the banks, than they do to the westward and near to the bed of the river. For all practical purposes the Median wall distinguishes the Babylonian plain from the commencement of the hilly and rocky country; and hence, as I have elsewhere remarked and particularly described, follows an oblique line (*Researches*, &c. p. 173), being carried by the nature of the country more to the northwards on the Tigris than on the Euphrates.

tract of country is a further illustration of the minute accuracy of the historian.

During this march the Greeks wanted corn, and there was none to be bought but in the Lydian market, which was in the camp of the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus, and where it was sold at an enormous price, so that the soldiers lived upon flesh. 'Some of the marches were very long, when Cyrus had a mind his army should go on till they came to water or forage. And once, where the road was narrow and so deep that the carriages could not pass without difficulty, Cyrus stopped with those about him of the greatest authority and fortune, and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the Barbarians belonging to his army, and help the carriages through; but, thinking they went slowly about it, he commanded, as in anger, the most considerable Persians who were with him to assist in hastening on the carriages, which afforded an instance of their ready obedience; for, throwing off their purple robes, where each of them happened to stand, they ran, as if it had been for a prize, even down a very steep hill, in their costly vests and embroidered drawers, some even with chains about their necks, and bracelets round their wrists, and, leaping into the dirt with these, they lifted up the carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagined. Upon the whole,' says Xenophon, 'Cyrus appeared throughout to hasten their march, stopping nowhere unless to get provisions, or for other things that were very necessary; he judging the quicker he marched, the more unprepared the king would be to encounter him, and the slower, the more numerous would be the king's army; for it was obvious to any person of attention, that the Persian Empire, though strong with regard to the extent of country, and numbers of men, was, however, weak by reason of the great distance of places, and the division of its forces, when surprised by a sudden invasion.'

In this long march through the desert the army is

described as discovering a large and populous city, situated on the other side of the Euphrates, called Carmande, where the soldiers bought provisions, having passed over to it upon rafts, by filling the skins, which they made use of for tents, with dry hay, and sewing them together so close that the water could not get therein: these provisions were such as wine made of the fruit of the palm-trees and panic, there being great plenty of this in the country.

This expression, with regard to the discovery of Carmande, would lead to the belief that this city was not known to Cyrus or to the Persians, which can scarcely be possible. It is one of the few cases in which Xenophon has omitted giving distances, so that the site cannot be positively determined. Rennell has been inclined to identify it with the modern Hít, and there are sufficient reasons to lead me to agree with that eminent geographer, in this identification. Old 'Anáh or Anatho, was on the left bank of the river, the sites of Haddisa and Jubbah are islanded on the river. There are against it that there are no ruins of ancient times at Hít, but this is superseded by the knowledge, from other circumstances, of the great antiquity of that site, and where indeed was what is described by Ammianus as the throne of Trajan. Panic is not, that I know, much cultivated at the present day near Hít, but it does not follow that it might not have been so anciently; date-trees flourish freely in the neighbourhood, but are not now much grown there.

Hít has been designated by various names in antiquity, as Is and Izanesopolis, Ozogardana by Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zaragardia in Zozimus; also Eiopolis. It is not impossible that it may have been called Caramande. The celebrated bitumen fountains at this place were visited by Alexander, by Trajan, by Severus, and by Julian, and their presence serves always to identify the place, except in the pages of Xenophon, where there is no mention of the existence of this remarkable mineral product.

While the army was opposite to Carmande, a dispute arose between Menon's soldiers and those of Clearchus, which was only with difficulty appeased by the interference of Cyrus.

While they were marching forward, there appeared the footing and dung of horses, which, by the print of their feet, were judged to be about two thousand, marching before, burning all the forage, and everything else that could be of any use. At this time a noble Persian, called by Xenophon, Orontas, attempted to go over to the king, and at the same time take with him a thousand of Cyrus' horse, which he represented he would place himself in ambuscade with, and either destroy those horse that had burned all before him, or take many of them prisoners. But a letter to the king having been intercepted, Orontas was taken into Cyrus' tent, and tried by a council of seven Persians and Clearchus. On this occasion, Cyrus upbraided him for former treachery which had been forgiven, as well as his present conduct, but without manifesting apparently any desire for his destruction. The council, however, with Clearchus at their head, desired that he should be forthwith put to death, upon which they all rose up, and, together with his relations, laid hold of his girdle, as a token of his being condemned. He was then carried into the tent of Artapates, 'who was in the greatest trust with Cyrus of any of his sceptre-bearers; from which time no one ever saw Orontas either alive or dead, nor could any one certainly relate how he was put to death, though various conjectures were made about it; neither was it ever known that any monument was erected to his memory.'

Cyrus next proceeded through the country of Babylon, and after completing twelve parasangs, or thirty-six geographic miles, in three days' march, he reviewed his forces, both Greeks and Barbarians, about midnight, for he expected the king would appear the next morning, at the head of his army, ready to give him battle. On this

occasion he gave the command of the right wing to Clearchus, and that of the left to Menon the Thessalian, while he himself drew up his own men.

After the review, and as soon as the day appeared, there came deserters from the great king, bringing an account of his army to Cyrus, who thereupon called together the generals and captains of the Greeks, and advised with them concerning the order of battle, at the same time encouraging them by his persuasions, telling them that he employed them not from want of native troops, but because they were superior to numbers, that they must not care for the shouts by which the Persians began a conflict, and that if any wished to return home, they should be sent back the envy of the country.

'Gaulites, a banished Samian, a man of fidelity to Cyrus, being present, spoke thus: It is said by some, O Cyrus! that you promise many things now, because you are in such imminent danger, which, upon any success, you will not remember; and by others, that though you should remember your promises, and desire to perform them, it will not be in your power.' Cyrus then replied: 'Gentlemen! my paternal kingdom to the south reaches as far as those climates that are uninhabitable through heat, and to the north, as far as those that are so through cold: everything between is under the government of my brother's friends; and if we conquer, it becomes me to put you, who are my friends, in possession of it; so that I am under no apprehension, if we succeed, lest I should not have enough to bestow on each of my friends; I only fear, lest I should not have friends enough on whom to bestow it: but to each of you Greeks, besides what I have mentioned, I promise a crown of gold!'

Hereupon the officers espoused his cause with greater alacrity, and made their report to the rest; after which, the Greek generals, and some of the private men, came to him to know what they had to expect, if they were victorious; all whom he sent away big with hopes; and all

who were admitted, advised him not to engage personally, but to stand in the rear: Clearchus himself put this question to him: 'Are you of opinion, O Cyrus! that your brother will hazard a battle?' 'Certainly,' answered Cyrus, 'if he is the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall never obtain all this without a stroke.'

The place at which this took place, was, by Xenophon's account, thirty-six geographic miles beyond the Pylæ, and from the other data, thirty-two miles south of the wall of Media, twenty-two miles south of Felújah, thirty-six miles north of Cunaxa, and seventy-two miles north of Babylon.

By the examination here instituted, the army was found to present an effective force of ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed Greeks, and two thousand four hundred targeteers of the same nation; and that of the Barbarians in the service of Cyrus, to one hundred thousand men, with about twenty chariots armed with scythes. The enemy's army was said to consist of nine hundred thousand men, and one hundred and fifty chariots, (some commentators say only twenty), armed with scythes, besides six thousand horse, under the command of Artagerses, all which were drawn up before the king, whose army was commanded by three generals, Tissaphernes, Gobyras, and Arbaces, who had each the command of three hundred thousand men. Abrocomas arrived from Phœnicia with an additional three hundred thousand men and fifty chariots, five days after the action.

From the field of review, Cyrus made one day's march, three parasangs; all his force, both Greeks and Barbarians, marching in order of battle, because he expected the king would fight that day; for in the middle of the march, or at a distance of four and a half miles from the field of review, there was a trench cut, five fathoms broad and three deep, extending twelve parasangs, or thirty-six miles upwards, and traversing the plain as far as the wall of Media.

The distance marched from the wall of Media southwards amounted to thirty-six miles and a half; the Pylæ being four miles above Sifeïrah, at the north-western termination of the wall, and the place of review thirty-six miles south of the gates, or thirty-two from Sifeïrah, and the trench four and a half miles beyond that. The trench is described as extending thirty-six miles upwards to the wall of Media, hence it would have reached to within half a mile of the south-western extremity of the Median wall; as far it has been at present traced; but there is little doubt that in ancient times it approached to the Euphrates, so as to have come within the thirty-six miles. The point at which Cyrus arrived at the trench corresponds with the position of the Nahr Melik, or royal canal; so we may deduce from that, that it extended from this canal on the one hand to the Median wall on the other.

The account of this trench or canal, as given by the Athenian historian, is, that the great king hearing that Cyrus was marching against him, caused it to be made (by way of fortification) *near the Euphrates*, close to which also there was a narrow pass, through which Cyrus and his army marched, and came within the trench, or to the south side; when, finding the king did not engage that day, by the many tracks that appeared both of horses and men, which had retreated, he sent for Silanus the soothsayer, of Ambracia, and agreeable to his promise gave him three thousand daricks, because the eleventh day before that, when he was offering sacrifice, he told Cyrus the king would not fight within ten days; upon which Cyrus said, 'If he does not fight within that time, he will not fight at all; and if what you say proves true, I will give you ten talents.' Baillie Fraser has ingeniously advanced, that Cyrus was allowed to pass the trench in order to throw him off his guard, which appears very probably to have been the case.

At this point, having arrived at the Nahr Melik, or royal canal, Xenophon describes four canals as intersect-

ing the plain of Babylonia, and being derived from the Tigris, being each one hundred feet in breadth, and deep enough for barges laden with corn to sail therein, and falling into the Euphrates. They were distant from one another one parasang, having bridges over them.

The antiquity of these canals dates from the most remote periods of the Babylonian monarchy. The ancient kings of Assyria and of Babylonia understood the value of canals as well as the Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese; And the great empire of Babylonia rose upon the alluvial plain of Shinar, amid a system of irrigation and draining which spread like a net-work over the land. 'The Babylonian district,' says Herodotus, 'like Egypt, is intersected by a number of canals, which facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce;' and which, in the language of Gibbon, 'armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army.'

It is certain, however, that all ancient authorities anterior to, or who came after Xenophon, differ from the Athenian as to the fact of their being derived from the Tigris. Herodotus, Diodorus, Arrian, Pliny, Strabo, and Ammianus, are unanimous in evidencing the reverse; and that in modern times the canals were derived from the Euphrates, and flowed into the Tigris. The difference in the levels of the rivers is so slight, that to the south of Babylon, in the present day, there exist canals, as the Shaṭ el Hïe, which are derived from the Tigris, and flow into the Euphrates; and it is probable that by merely altering the diagonal direction of a canal, the waters could be made to flow either way; certainly so at certain seasons; and hence the great system of ancient irrigation, in which this is sometimes applied practically by cross diagonals.

Major Rennell has very properly remarked upon the improbability of the distances given by Xenophon, and that four canals, of each one hundred feet in width, could,

without totally draining it, be derived from the river Euphrates, within a distance of twelve geographical miles. It is remarkable, however, that the Athenian historian coincides with all other authorities in fixing the number at four, and the distances of these from one another, in the time of Abú-'l-Fedá, are recorded as equal to two farsaks, or six geographical miles. In actual times, four canals more especially distinguish themselves from the other minor canals of irrigation, by their extent and length, and by crossing from river to river. The first and most northerly of these is the Sakláwiyeh, also called Abú Gheraïb, by the Dilaïm Arabs, which is derived from the Euphrates between Sifeïrah and Felújah, flows thence to the Hór[1] or marsh of 'Aker Kúf, from whence it is drawn by a canal, called after a former pasha of Baghdád, Dáúd-íyeh, into the Tigris, below that city. This appears to be the Barax, or Baiamalcha of Ammianus, and it is pretty certainly the Nahr 'Isá of Abú-'l-Fedá, who says that its name was given to it from 'Isa 'Ibn 'Abdállah, 'Ibn 'Abbás, an uncle of Khalif Mánsur. In the time of the Arab geographer it lost itself in Tigris, in the heart of western Baghdád.

The second canal is now called Zimberaníyeh. It has its origin below the Sakláwiyeh, and flows into the Tigris about four miles north of the ruins of Seleucia, where I crossed it, full of water. It appears to correspond to the Nahr Serser of Abú-'l-Fedá. It is not noticed in Lynch's map, who has, however, south of the Sakláwiyeh, a canal called the Abú Gheraïb, or Gharib, which, as he does not appear to have followed its prolongation, is likely to be the same.

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[1] Húr, 'marshy lake,' says Colonel Rawlinson, *Journ. of R. G. S.*, Vol. ix. p. 92; but Ross spells it Khaur, *Journ. of R. G. S.*, Vol. xi. p. 121; and Mr. Renouard says it is only vulgarly pronounced Khór (*op cit.*); although the latter is the orthography he generally adopts, as in Haines' *Memoir on the Southern Coasts of Arabia*. Khór, according to Mr. Rassam, expresses an inlet of the sea; Hór or Húr, a marshy lake.

The third is the most celebrated of all, the present Mahmúdíyeh, and the Nahr Melik, or king's river of Abú-'l-Fedá. Lynch has ascertained that it also in the present day retains its ancient Chaldean name of Nahr Melik. It is the royal canal of Herodotus and others, and dates from the most remote periods of Babylonian antiquity.

The fourth is now, in what part has been explored, designated the Nahr Dhíy'ab and Shóshóbar, and corresponds to the Kawa of Rennell, and the Kúthah or Kúlbah of Abú-'l-Fedá. Dr. Hyde, in his able work (*Hist. Rel. Vet. Persarum*), first obtained from antiquity the evidence of the former existence in Babylonia of a city having the name of Kutha, or Cush, situated on this canal, which was hence also of the most remote antiquity. The distances given by Abú-'l-Fedá, of two parasangs between each canal, does not always tally with the identifications here established between ancient and modern canals. The Arab geographer notices that there was a town upon each of them, and ruins may be traced at the present day on portions of each of the above-mentioned canals. It is barely possible, that in the days of Artaxerxes four canals existed in the relations pointed out by Xenophon; and that in the time of Abú-'l-Fedá, there were also four canals, but at the distance of from six to seven miles from each other; and lastly, in actual times, we have first the Sakláwiyeh, six and a half miles at its western extremity or origin from the Abú Gharib, but if flowing through the Zimberaníyeh, at a wider interval of distance in its eastern portion; secondly, the Zimberaníyeh, about six and a half miles from the eastern extremity of the Nahr Melik; and thirdly, the Nahr Melik, about six miles at its western extremity from the Zimberaníyeh, or Nahr Serser; and fourthly, the Nahr Dhíy'áb, about six miles at its western extremity from the Nahr Melik.

The king having thus suffered the army of Cyrus to

march unmolested by the trench and pass, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given over all thoughts of fighting; so the next day Cyrus marched with less circumspection; and the third day rode in his car, very few marching before him in their ranks; and great part of the soldiers observed no order, many of their arms being carried in waggons, and upon sumpter-horses.

It was approaching, as Xenophon expresses it, about the time of day when the market is usually crowded, the army being near the place where they proposed to encamp, when Patagyas, a Persian, one of those whom Cyrus most confided in, was seen riding towards them full speed, his horse all in a sweat, and calling to every one he met, both in his own language and in Greek, that the king was at hand with a vast army, marching in order of battle; which occasioned a general confusion among the Greeks, all expecting he would charge them before they had put themselves in order; but Cyrus, leaping from his car, put on his corslet, then mounting his horse, took his javelin in his hand, ordered all the rest to arm, and every man to take his post; by virtue of which command they quickly formed themselves; Clearchus on the right wing, close to the Euphrates; next to him, Proxenus; and after him the rest. Menon and his men were posted upon the left of the Greek army. Of the Barbarians, a thousand Paphlagonian horse, with the Greek targeteers, stood next to Clearchus on the right; upon the left, Ariæus, Cyrus' lieutenant-general, was placed with the rest of the Barbarians; they had large corslets and cuirasses, and all of them helmets, except Cyrus, who placed himself in the center with six hundred horse, and stood ready for the charge, with his head unarmed; it being the custom for Persian princes to go to battle with the tiara on the head. All the horses in Cyrus' army had both frontlets and breast-plates, and the horsemen Greek swords.

Considering the average amount of a day's march

from what has preceded, and the irregular and uncertain nature of the last three days' march towards Babylon, more than three parasangs, or nine miles, cannot be allowed for the total distance performed each day. It was this amount marched the day that the army proceeded to the trench in order of battle; and it is not likely to have been exceeded when each was loitering on at his own leisure, and their chieftain lolling in his chariot.

It was now the middle of the day, and no enemy was to be seen; but in the afternoon there appeared a dust like a white cloud, which not long after spread itself like a darkness over the plain. When the evening drew near, the brazen armour flashed, and their spears and ranks appeared, having on their left a body of horse armed in white corslets (said to be commanded by Tissaphernes), and followed by those with Persian bucklers, besides heavy-armed men with wooden shields reaching down to their feet (said to be Egyptians), and other horses and archers; all which marched according to their respective countries, each nation being drawn up in a solid oblong square; and before them were disposed, at a considerable distance from one another, chariots armed with scythes, fixed aslant at the axle-trees, with others under the body of the chariot, pointing downwards, that so they might cut asunder everything they encountered, and by driving them among the ranks of the Greeks, to break them; but it appears that Cyrus was mistaken when he exhorted the Greeks to withstand the shouts of the Barbarians; for they did not come on with shouts, but as silently and quietly as possible, and in an equal and slow march. Cyrus, riding along the ranks with Pigres the interpreter, and three or four others, commanded Clearchus to bring his men opposite to the center of the enemy (because the king was there), saying, 'If we break that, our work is done;' but Clearchus observing their center, and understanding from Cyrus that the king was

beyond the left wing of the Greek army, (for the king was so much superior in numbers, that when he stood in the center of his own army, he was beyond the left wing of that of Cyrus), the Greek general would not then be prevailed on to withdraw his right from the river, fearing to be surrounded on both sides; but answered Cyrus, he would take care all should go well. These preliminaries to the battle are very carefully given by Xenophon, and shew what a distance the Greeks, who held for safety sake by the river side, were from the center of the army of Artaxerxes, which reached beyond the left wing of the Greeks.

The Persians came regularly on; the Greek army standing on the same ground, the ranks being formed as the men came up; in the meantime, Cyrus riding at a small distance before the ranks, surveying both the enemy's army and his own, was observed by Xenophon, who rode up to him, and asked whether he had anything to command; Cyrus, stopping his horse, ordered him to let all know that the sacrifices and victims promised success.

While he was saying this, upon hearing a voice running through the ranks, he asked him what it meant? Xenophon answered, that the word was now giving for the second time. Cyrus, wondering who should give it, asked him what the word was; the other replied, 'Jupiter the preserver, and victory.' Cyrus replied, 'I accept it; let that be the word;' after which he immediately returned to his post, and the two armies being now within three or four stadia of each other, the Greeks sung the Pæan, and began to advance against the enemy; but the motion occasioning a slight break in the line of battle, those who were left behind, hastened their march, and at once gave a general shout, as their custom is when they invoke the god of war; and all ran forward, striking their shields with their pikes, as some say, to frighten the enemy's horses: so that before the Per-

sians came within reach of their darts, they turned their horses and fled, but the Greeks pursued them as fast as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their ranks; some of the chariots were borne through their own people without their charioteers; others through the Greeks, some of whom seeing them coming, divided; while others, being amazed, were taken unawares; but even these were reported to have received no harm, neither was there any other Greek hurt in the action, except one upon the left wing, who was said to have been wounded by an arrow.

Cyrus seeing the Greeks victorious on their side, rejoiced in pursuit of the enemy, and was already worshipped as king by those about him; however, he was not so far transported as to leave his post, and join in the pursuit; but keeping his six hundred horse in a body, observed the king's motions, well knowing that he was in the center of the Persian army. This, as previously described, extended beyond the left wing of the Greeks; and when Artaxerxes saw none opposed to him in front, nor any motion made to charge the troops that were drawn up before him, he wheeled to the left, in order to surround their army; whereupon, Cyrus fearing he should get behind him, and cut off the Greeks, advanced against the king, and charging with his six hundred horse, broke through those who were drawn up before him, put the six thousand men to flight, and, as they say, killed Artagerses their commander with his own hand.

These being broken, and the six hundred belonging to Cyrus dispersed in the pursuit, very few were left about him, and those almost all persons who used to eat at his table. However, upon discovering the king properly attended, unable to contain himself, he exclaimed, 'I see the man!' and then ran furiously at him, and striking him on the breast, wounded him through his corslet, (as Ctesias the physician says, who affirms that he cured the wound), having, while he was giving the blow,

received a wound under the eye, from somebody, who threw a javelin at him with great force; at the same time, the king and Cyrus engaged hand to hand, and those about them in defence of each. In this action, Ctesias (who was with the king) informs us how many fell on his side; on the other, Cyrus himself was killed, and eight of his most considerable friends lay dead upon him. When Artapates, who was in the greatest trust with Cyrus of any of his sceptred ministers, saw him fall, they say he leaped from his horse, and threw himself upon him; when (as some say) the king ordered him to be slain upon the body of Cyrus; though others assert, that drawing his scimitar, he slew himself; for he wore a golden scimitar, a chain, bracelets, and other ornaments, such as were worn by the most considerable Persians; and was held in great esteem by Cyrus, both for his affection and fidelity.

Thus died Cyrus! a man universally acknowledged, says Xenophon, by those who were acquainted with him, to have been of all the Persians since the ancient Cyrus, imbued with the most princely qualities, and to have appeared the most worthy of empire.

When Cyrus was dead, his head and right hand were cut off upon the spot, and the king, with his men in pursuit, broke into his camp; while those with Ariæus no longer made a stand, but fled to their former post, which was said to be about twelve miles from the field of battle.

The king with his forces captured Cyrus' mistress, a Phocæan, who was said to be a woman of great sense and beauty; another, a Milesian, who was the younger of the two, was also taken by the king's troops, but escaped naked to the quarter of the Greeks, who were left to guard the baggage. These forming themselves, killed many of those who were plundering the camp, and lost some of their own men; however, they did not fly, but saved the Milesian, with the men and effects, and in

general everything else that was in their quarter. The king and the Greeks were now at the distance of about three miles from one another, pursuing the enemy that were opposite to them, as if they had gained a complete victory; and the king's troops plundering the camp of the Greeks, as if they also had been everywhere victorious. But when the Greeks were informed that the king with his men were among their baggage, Clearchus consulted with Proxenus, who was nearest to him, whether they should send a detachment, or should all march to relieve the camp. When the king, on his side, heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks had put those before them to flight, and were gone forward in the pursuit, he then rallied his forces, and put them in order.

He was then observed to move forward again, and appeared resolved to fall upon the rear of the Greeks, who faced about, and put themselves in a posture to receive him. The king, however, did not advance that way, but, as before, passed beyond their left wing, and led his men back the same way, taking along with him those who had deserted to the Greeks during the action, and also Tissaphernes with his forces; for Tissaphernes did not fly at the first onset, but penetrated with his horse where the Greek targeteers were posted, quite as far as the river. However, in breaking through, he killed none of their men, but the Greeks dividing, wounded his people both with their swords and darts.

The Greeks followed the Persians on their retreat to a village where they halted, for there was an eminence above the village, upon which the king's forces faced about. This has been considered as affording additional evidence of the battle having taken place, as advanced by Baillie Fraser, to the north of the Median wall; but the eminence here alluded to, appears to have been one of the numerous artificial mounds or tels so characteristic of the Babylonian plain. If a mountain or hill had been intended, it would have been noted as such, and not as a mere

eminence. For the word used to express the eminence in question is γηλοφος, a compound of γη, 'of earth,' and λοφοι, hill, mound, or tumulus; which etymology leaves scarcely a doubt upon the matter.

The king had no foot with him, but the mound was covered with horse in such a manner that it was impossible for the Greeks to see what was doing. However, they said they saw the royal ensign there, which was a golden eagle, with its wings expanded, resting upon a spear. When the Greeks advanced towards them, the horse quitted the hill, not in a body, but some running one way, and some another. At this the Greeks halted, (it being near sun-set), and, lying under their arms, rested themselves: in the meantime wondering that neither Cyrus appeared, nor any one from him, not knowing he was dead, but imagining that he was either led away by the pursuit, or had rode forward to possess himself of some post: however, they consulted among themselves whether they should stay where they were, and send for their baggage, or return to their camp. They resolved upon the latter; and, arriving at their tents about supper-time, found the greatest part of their baggage plundered, with all the provisions, besides the carriages, which, as it was said, amounted to four hundred, full of flour and wine, which Cyrus had prepared, in order to distribute them among the Greeks, lest at any time his army should labour under the want of necessaries; but they were all so rifled by the king's troops, that the greatest part of the Greeks had no supper, neither had they eaten any dinner; for, before the army could halt in order to dine, the king appeared, and in this manner they passed the night.

END OF BOOK FIRST.

BOOK SECOND.

Heralds arrive from Artaxerxes. Greeks return to Camp of Ariæus. Oath of Alliance. March to Babylonian Villages. Pass many Canals. Plain of Babylonia. Procrastination of Tissaphernes. Wall of Media. Direction of the Wall. Non-existence of two Walls. Marches on Plain of Babylonia. Canals from the Tigris. Sitace. Distance from Opis. Apolloniatis and Sitacene. Bridge on the Tigris. Opis. Mouth of Physcus. Ancient Bed of Tigris. Villages of Parysatis. Cœnæ or Scena, city of the Scenite Arabs. Tékrit. Sénn. Zabatus, Great Zab. Interview of Clearchus and Tissaphernes. Massacre of the Greeks. Death of Clearchus. Retributive Punishment of Menon.

BOOK SECOND.

'IN the foregoing book,' says Xenophon, 'we have shewn by what means Cyrus raised an army of Greeks, when he marched against his brother Artaxerxes; what was performed during his march, and in what manner the battle was fought; how Cyrus was killed; and the Greeks, thinking they had gained a complete victory, and that Cyrus was alive, returned to their camp, and betook themselves to rest.'

As soon as the day approached, the generals, being assembled, wondered that Cyrus neither sent them any orders, nor appeared himself; they resolved, therefore, to collect what was left of their baggage, and armed themselves to move forwards in order to join Cyrus; but just as they were on the point of marching, and as soon as the sun was risen, two Persians came to them and announced that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariæus had left the field, and had retired with the rest of the troops to the camp they had left the day before, and where he said he would stay for them that day, if they thought fit to come; but that the next he should return to Ionia, whence he came. The generals and the rest of the Greeks hearing this were greatly afflicted; and Clearchus exclaimed with astonishment, 'Would to God Cyrus was alive! but since he is dead, let Ariæus know that we have overcome the king, and that if he will come hither, we will place him on the throne.' After he had said this, he sent back the messengers with Cheirisophus, and, at his own desire, Menon; making provisions during their absence as well as he could, by killing the oxen and asses that belonged to the baggage, and making use of the Persian arrows, bucklers, and the

Egyptian shields, that were made of wood, besides a great many targets and empty waggons, for fire-wood.

The same evening heralds arrived from Artaxerxes claiming the victory, and ordering the Greeks to deliver up their arms, and repair to court, to obtain favourable terms from the king. The Greeks, as might naturally be expected, were highly indignant at this specimen of Persian pride, and Clearchus answered, that it was not the part of conquerors to deliver up their arms. Having retired under pretence of inspecting the entrails of a victim, Clearchus was followed by Cleanor the Arcadian in nearly the same strain, and then by Xenophon. It is stated that the resolution of all present was not equal to the bold defiance uttered by these chieftains. Clearchus having returned, endeavoured, by appealing to Phalinus, a Greek in the service of Artaxerxes, who acted as interpreter, to get him himself to advise them not to give up their arms, but Phalinus persisted in the same line of argument. Clearchus then finished the discussion by remarking, that 'if it is proposed we should be friends to the king, we shall be more valuable friends by preserving our arms than by parting with them; and if we are to go to war with him, we shall make war with greater advantage by keeping our arms than by delivering them!' Phalinus then said, that the king had also ordered him to let it be known, that if the Greeks stayed where they were, they would have peace, but if they advanced or marched back, they must expect war. To this, several times repeated, Clearchus answered: 'If we stay, there may be peace, but if we march back, or advance, war.'

In the meantime, Proclus and Cheirisophus came from Ariæus, leaving Menon with him, and brought word that Ariæus said, there were many Persians of greater consideration than himself, who would never suffer him to be their king, but desires, if you propose marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night, if not, he says he will depart the next morning early.

Clearchus answered, 'What you advise is very proper, if we join him; if not, do whatever you think expedient to your advantage.' After this, when it was sun-set, he assembled the generals and captains, and told them the victims forbad proceeding against the king, between whom and them was now interposed the river Tigris, only to be passed on boats, and that they should repair to supper, and prepare at the first sound of the horn to pack up, at the second to load the horses, and at the third to start: the baggage marching next to the river, and the heavy-armed men covering it. In this manner Clearchus led them to the camp of Ariæus; three hundred Thracian foot, and forty horse, under Miltocythes, having deserted to the king.

The Persians and Greeks, although at the midnight hour, made a sacrifice of a boar, a bull, a wolf, and a ram, and mixing the blood together in the hollow of a shield, the Greeks dipped a sword therein, and the Barbarians a spear, and each took an oath not to betray one another, and to become allies. The Persians also swore that they would conduct the Greeks without deceit, an oath which was afterwards but too shamefully broken.

This ceremony being over, Ariæus, who had no doubt been already tampered with by the king, in answer to a remark by Clearchus, pointed out the evils they had suffered on their way to Babylon, and the impossibility, from the dearth of provisions, of returning by the same road; so that he proposed that they should take a longer way, but on which there would be no want of provisions, and at the same time that they should make their marches as long as possible, in order to gain two or three days' march upon the king.

The Greeks, coinciding in this view, the march was begun as soon as it was day, having the sun on their right, so marching northwards, expecting to arrive by sun-set at some village that lay in the country of Babylon; and in this they were not mistaken. As evening advanced, they

were alarmed by the appearance of sumpter-horses at pasture, and which were at first mistaken for cavalry, and they concluded, from smoke also appearing in the neighbouring villages, that the king's camp was not far off.

When they came to the villages, the Persians retreated before them, carrying away even the timber that belonged to the houses. The van-guard encamped with discipline, but the others coming up later, tired and hungry, made such an uproar that they were only silenced by Clearchus proclaiming, that whoever gave information of the person who had turned the ass into the quarter of the heavy-armed men should receive the reward of a silver talent.

The next day the king sent heralds by sun-rise to treat for a truce, but Clearchus would not see them till he had drawn up his army to the best advantage, and the ranks so closed that no unarmed men could be seen. After this he proceeded to the meeting, accompanied by the generals and some well-armed soldiers. The messengers having declared their objects, Clearchus answered, 'Let the king know that we must fight first, for we have nothing to dine on, and there is no man so hardy as to mention a truce to the Greeks unless he first provides them a dinner.' The messengers hereupon departed, but, returning presently, brought word that the king thought their demand very reasonable, and that they had with them guides, who, if a truce were concluded, should conduct them to a place where they should find provisions. This, after some further conference, was acceded to.

The direction of the next march, its relation to the sun or any other place, is not given; but it is stated that the army met with ditches and canals full of water, so that they were not able to pass without bridges, which they made with palm-trees, having found some lying upon the ground, and others which they cut down. Upon such occasions, Clearchus was to be observed with his

pike in his left hand, and a staff in his right; and if he saw any of those he had appointed to this service backward in the execution of their duty, he displaced him, and substituted a proper person in his room; he himself at the same time going into the dirt and assisting them; so that every one was ashamed not to be active. There is every reason to believe from this statement that the Greeks were led into the interior of Babylonia, and Clearchus appears justly to have suspected that the ditches had been filled with water purposely, as it was not the season for irrigating the land.

At last, coming to the villages where the guides told them they might supply themselves with provisions, they found plenty of corn, and wine made of the fruit of the date-tree, and also vinegar, obtained by boiling the same fruit. Wine is not made from the fruit of the date in the same country in the present day, but spirit is distilled from it. The liquor drank by the Greeks is described as sweet to the taste, but apt to give the head-ache. The soldiers also ate the pith of the date-tree, a thing which I have not seen the Arabs do, and which it is said also occasioned violent head-aches, and the tree to wither.

The plain of Babylonia appears to have been in the time of Artaxerxes very much what it is in the present day,—intersected by numerous canals of derivation and irrigation,—but still only partially peopled and cultivated, and with only a village here and there. In the present day there are several towns both on the Tigris and Euphrates, in Babylonia, which are surrounded by more or less extensive groves of date-trees; and almost every village, whether on the banks of the river, or in the interior, neighbouring some canal of irrigation, has its grove of date-trees. It is, however, only to the south of Babylon that the latter become continuous, and constitute an almost perpetual forest along the banks of the river. In whatever direction the plain of Babylonia is traversed,

and I have crossed it and recrossed it at various points, traces of former canals and long embankments are to be met with, ruins of former towns and cities are scattered about, and mounds of earth rise out of the horizon, or are thrown into fantastic forms by the mirage, or schráb. Villages, are however rare, and it is natural to suppose that there was a greater amount of cultivation, and a larger population, when Babylon was the seat of the Persian empire, than in the present fallen condition, at once of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Baghdad; the seats of the successive dynasties that have ruled over plains so highly favoured by nature, but which have been of little permanent avail to man.

The Greeks stayed three days at these villages, in the date-grove, during which time they were visited by Tissaphernes, with the queen's brother, and three other Persians, who came from the king; and Tissaphernes, addressing the generals, endeavoured to persuade them that he had out of good fellowship to the Greeks, to whom he was a neighbour, begged of the king to be allowed to conduct them safe into Greece, but that Artaxerxes requested to know what motive had induced them to make war upon him. To this the Greeks answered very temperately, that Cyrus had at first misled them, that when afterwards they saw him in difficulties, their respect both to gods and men would not allow them to abandon him; but since Cyrus was dead, they had no wish to infest the country, but while they should protect themselves and resent an injury, they were not unwilling to acknowledge a favour. Tissaphernes did not return with an answer till the third day, when he said that he had succeeded in prevailing upon the king to grant his wishes, and that they should be conducted safe into Greece, and provided for, or allowed to provide for themselves on the way, if they would promise to march as through a friend's country, without doing any damage. The Persians and Greeks then bound them-

selves to this arrangement by oath; but Tissaphernes did not afterwards return for twenty days, during which time it became manifest that Ariæus and his people, who were encamped near the Greeks, paid less regard to them; and the objects of the king, doubted from the first, were now openly discussed among the Greeks; but Clearchus, by timely interference, kept down the impatience of those who wished to depart.

At length Tissaphernes arrived with his forces, as if he designed to return home, and with Orontas, who it appears from this was not put to death by Cyrus, and the king's daughter, whom he had married. From thence they began their march, Tissaphernes leading the way, and providing them with a market. Ariæus marched at the head of the Persians and Asiatics who had served under Cyrus, with Tissaphernes and Orontas, and encamped with them. The Greeks being diffident of these, marched by themselves, having guides to conduct them. Part of them always encamped separately, at the distance of three miles or less; and were each upon their guard against one another, as against an enemy. Sometimes, while they were providing themselves with wood, forage, or other things of that nature, they came to blows, which also bred ill blood between them.

After three days' march they came to and passed through the wall of Media, which was built of burned bricks laid in bitumen; being twenty feet in thickness, one hundred in height, and, as it was said, sixty miles in length, and not far from Babylon.

Julian, who advanced into Babylonia from the same quarter as Cyrus, only that, like Trajan and Severus, he crossed the country by the Royal River, after the capture of Perisabor, notices this wall as being at the head of the plain, above where the canals were given off from the river, and somewhere near the site of the Sipphara of Ptolemy, and Macepracta of his historian Ammianus Marcellinus. The traces of the same wall, under the

name of Khalú, or Sídd Nimrúd, appear to have been first discovered in modern times by Mr. Ross, surgeon to the residency at Baghdad. It was afterwards visited by the officers of the Euphrates Expedition, and has been since more carefully examined by Captain Lynch and his party. The ruins indicate a construction similar to what is described by Xenophon. It is wide enough for two persons to ride a-breast, and is still in many places thirty to forty feet in height; its south westerly extent has not been traced beyond the ruins of Sifeïrah. This indeed appears to be the position that would have been chosen for such a wall, extending from the Tigris above Opis, where the eastern bank of that river was defended by the city and the river Physcus, (Ḳáṭúr) to near the point where, as Ptolemy and Ammianus describe it, the first great canal is cut from the Euphrates. In following such a direction, it also at the same time marks very nearly the line of limitation of the alluvial plain of Babylonia, from where it is succeeded to the north by low, hilly, infertile, and rocky districts. Under all these circumstances, and after mature consideration on the spot, and subsequently at home, of the distances travelled over by the Greeks on the plain of Babylonia, after the engagement, of the wilful detention practised upon them, and their ultimate betrayal by their inimical hosts, the opinion has been forced upon me, that they were purposely misled here, as they also were subsequently in Armenia; and that the going through the Median wall was only a part of the mystification practised upon himself and the remainder of the Greeks. The only explanation I can offer of the marches in Babylonia is contained in the map accompanying this Memoir. I am obliged to believe that Tissaphernes having arrived with his army and the guides, marched, as Xenophon expresses it, as if he designed to return home; that he led the Greeks three days' march, or about thirty-six miles, by Sifeïrah, at which point he turned round, and conducted them through the wall into

Sitacene, thus leaving them in perplexity with regard to the relations of that rich and fertile province to the city of Babylon. This view of the subject, as we shall afterwards see, is supported by the subsequent facts, and it clears up the difficulties presented by the distances given in the marches from Cunaxa to the wall, and from the wall to Sitace. Puzzled by such peculiar features in the movements of the Greeks, D'Anville, in a map drawn for Rollin's Ancient History, brought a second wall in a curve from the center of the Median wall, or that of Semiramis, and led it to the Euphrates, near Babylon. Delisle also delineates a wall passing by 'Aḳer Ḳúf (Accad) to the vicinity of Babylon, an unnecessary distance; for, as we have previously seen according to Xenophon, its extent was only sixty miles, which would not carry it beyond Sifeïrah. And supposing that this arrangement did exist in antiquity, and for which I can see no adequate reason, (for what ostensible purpose would a wall be constructed traversing the interior of the plain of Babylonia?) even then the Greeks must have been led about in a most irregular manner previous to reaching the wall, and again on the other side; for they travelled from it to Sitace twenty-four miles, Sitace being sixty from Opis at the head of the same wall, which was itself only sixty miles in extent. Vincent, in his able work on the commerce of the ancients, at first supported the presumed existence of two walls, but in his dissertation on Opis, in the Appendix to the same work, he allowed that such an hypothesis could not be determined by an appeal to facts, and very properly declined supporting it from a mere spirit of system.

The results derived from considering the whole of the marches in Babylonia, are that the Greeks advanced from the wall of Media towards Babylon sixty-eight miles, but traversed on their return to the same wall, by approxi-

mate calculation, seventy-eight miles; and that they therefore, by going to the villages, added ten miles to the distance.

From the wall of Media the Greeks made in two days' march eight parasangs, or twenty-four miles, and passed two canals, one upon a bridge, the other upon seven pontoons. These canals were derived from the Tigris, and from them ditches were cut that ran into the country; the first broad, then narrower, and ending at last in small water-courses, such as are used in Greece to water panic. Xenophon, by repeating the circumstance here, lends additional weight to his prior statement, that in his time the northerly part of the plain of Babylonia was watered from the Tigris. The system of canals and of internal irrigation appears indeed to have been perpetually fluctuating, as in the time of the khalifat we see 'Aḳbára, a favourite residence of the khalifs, described as situated upon the Tigris, the ruins of which now exist upon the dry bed of a canal (Shát Eïdhá), at some distance from that river; and as in modern times, to avert the inundations produced by the Euphrates pouring its flood by the Saḳláwíyeh into the Tigris, the waters of the Hór or marsh of 'Aḳer Kúf have been carried away by the Dáúdhíyeh canal into that river below the city of Baghdad. There is no doubt that the waters of the Tigris could in the present day be drawn in a similar manner into the Euphrates, by a canal carried in a south-westerly direction from the Tigris above the Physcus into the Euphrates. The number of old canals drawn from the Tigris, and flowing to the Tigris, above Sitace, is still considerable, and comprise the Nahr Dijeïl[1], the Shát

[1] Dujeïl, 'little Tigris,' Arab diminutive. Dijeïl of Ross, Lynch, Frazer, &c. anciently pronounced Diglah, whence, according to Mr. Renouard, Digr, Tigr, and Tigris. Dijlah is the Persian diminutive, whence, according to Rawlinson, the Dijlahi Kudak, 'little Tigris' of Murásidu-l-Attilá, and Dujeïle Ahwáz of Taẓkarati—Shusterfyah.

Eïdhá (the old bed of the river), the Isḥáklí, and several others[2].

Beyond these canals the Greeks came to the river Tigris, near which stood a large and populous city, called Sitace, at the distance of fifteen stadia, or a mile and a half from the river.

The point at which the army would have approached the Tigris, so as to have been twenty-five miles and a half from it (twenty-four to Sitace, and one and a half to Tigris), at the western extremity of the Median wall, would have been in a nearly due easterly line, and have occurred at or near the site of 'Aḳbará on the old bed of the Tigris. Mr. Ross sought for Sitace at Sherí'aṭ el Beïdhá, or the white river, where are very extensive ruins, consisting of mounds and embankments, and the dry ditch of a canal, and extending northward some miles, and westwards almost to the colossal ruin of 'Aḳer Ḳúf, the Accad of Scriptures; from which, however, they are separated during a great part of the year by inundations from the Euphrates.

It is to be opposed to the site thus adopted as the seat of ancient Sitace, that it was, according to Xenophon, sixty miles from Opis, which is supposed to have been at the junction of the modern "Adhem[3] with the Tigris. According to the distance astronomically fixed

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[2] The Arabs of Balad informed Captain Lynch that there were anciently two canals, which, like the wall of Media, ran across from the Tigris to the Euphrates—one from Istábolát, near where the Dijeïl leaves the Tigris, called Jalílu-l-Darb, and one that ran from the Dijeïl itself, called Bú Khaïmah. *Journal of R. G. S.* Vol. IX. p. 474.

[3] "Adhem, 'A'dhem, or "Azem, 'the largest river or canal,' says Mr. Renouard, 'is an epithet rather than a name.' The ظ in Arabic, is sounded like *th* in *thou*, in Persian like a common ز *z*; hence it would be, if spelt as pronounced, the Athem of the Arabs, and the Azem of the Persians. This river, curiously spelt Odoine by Tavernier, has its sources in the easterly or outer ranges of the Kurdistan chain of mountains, from which it issues in three different streams, one of which waters Kerkúk, the ancient Corcura; the second (which

by Captain Lynch, the air-line distance of Sherí'at el Beïdhá from the ruins of Opis is not more than thirty-four miles; but it appears that the tortuosities of the Tigris are so great at this part of the river, that they will (according to the testimony of Dr. Ross,) account for the difference of nearly one half in the astronomical and the travelling distance[1]. Colonel Taylor, the British resident at Baghdad, who has devoted a long and anxious attention to the comparative geography of Babylonia, is, I believe, satisfied as to the correctness of the identification. Major Rennell, cramped in his inquiries by the paucity of geographical materials existing in his time, placed Sitace as low down on the river as he could, without having to make the Greeks cross an additional river; that is to say, immediately above the Diyálah river. Vincent and D'Anville sought for Sitace at Baghdad, without many probabilities being in their favour.

The notices of Sitace left to us by antiquity are very few; but Sitacene, as a province, is described by Ptolemy as being next to Susiana, and by Pliny, next to Mesene, the territory of Charax. Strabo describes the celebrated causeway that led from Babylon to Susa as being carried throughout through Sitacene. The point

(which is the largest) passes by Táóḳ, the Dákûk of the Syrians; and the third is the rivulet of Túz Khurmá, of the Jihán numá, p. 466; but always spoken of by the natives adjectively as Túz-khurmá-lí, and which, according to Mr. Renouard, has been changed by ignorant Arabs into Túz Khurmatí, who supposed the name to end in *ah*, instead of *á*. Hence Ross and Lynch write it Túz Khurmatí; Rawlinson, Tóz Kurmetlí; Rich, Tooz Khoormattee; and Niebuhr, Dûz-Churmatu. The united streams flow on till intercepted by the Hamrín hills, on the western aspect of which a band or bund (dam or dyke) once turned the whole of the waters into the Nahr Batt, on the right, and into the Nahr Ratḥán on the left, the former going towards Karfah, the latter to Nahr-wán. This dam is now broken down, and swept away through the whole breadth of the stream. (See Ross' *Journey from Baghdad to Opis*, in 1834, *Journal of R. G. S.* Vol. II. p. 121, et seq.)

[1] Mr. Rich's map, it may be observed, gives a distance by the air-line of about forty miles between the two places.

at which this causeway crossed the Tigris was observed on the occasion of the first ascent of that river, where it had also been noticed by previous travellers, at some distance south of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

Strabo says that Sitacene was afterwards called Apolloniatis; and Apolloniatis was, according to Ptolemy, the district between Susiana and Arbelitis, or Adiabene, to the east of the Tigris. Apollonia, its capital, was situated, according to Stephanus, between Babylon and Susa, and according to Ptolemy, beyond the Gorgon—the Nahr-wán? Polybius describes Apolloniatis as a hilly country, and hence eastward considerably of Tigris. In it was the Mons Oricus (apparently the Hamrín hills) of the same historian. In this country was Sabata of Pliny, the Sabatha of Zozimus, thirty stadia, or three miles, from Seleucia. Artemita was also, according to Strabo, a noble city of the same district, situate fifty miles from Seleucia to the eastward; and Isidore of Charax describes Artemita as washed by the river Silla.

Sitace was placed in Sitacene, but by Ptolemy far off from the Tigris, beyond Artemita, while Pliny says Sitace was to the east, and so also Sabata; while to the west was Antiochia, situated between the two rivers Tigris and Tornadotus (Nahr-wán)[2]. Stephanus is the only authority who with Xenophon places Psitace (as he spells it, many write Sittace) on the Tigris.

The Greeks encamped close to the town of Sitace, near a large and beautiful park, thick with trees of every kind; and the Persians on the other side of the Tigris, but out of sight of the Greeks. After supper, Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking before the quarter where the heavy-armed men lay encamped, when a man came and asked the out-guards where he might

[2] Col. Rawlinson thinks Tornadatus is a corruption of Túr Nahr, the same as the Nahr-wán. *Journal of R. G. S.* x. 93.

speak with Proxenus or Clearchus; and when Proxenus told him he was the person he inquired after, the man said he had been sent by Ariæus to advise them to send a detachment to guard the bridge, which Tissaphernes designed to break down that night, and to be upon their guard, lest attacked by the Persians that night; but being taken before Clearchus, the fallacy struck them, that to destroy the bridge and attack them at the same time were inconsistent; for if conquered, the bridge would not save them; and if conquerors, it would cause the destruction of the Persians. They thus came to the conclusion that it was done from an apprehension lest the Greeks should not pass the bridge, but remain in the island, which was defended on one side by the Tigris, and on the other by the canal, while the country that lay between, being large and fruitful, and in no want of labourers to cultivate it, might both supply them with provisions, and afford them a retreat, if they were disposed to make war upon the king. They sent a detachment, however, to guard the bridge, after which they went to rest, but no attempt was made upon the camp, neither did any of the enemy come up to the bridge at night. The next morning, by break of day, they passed the bridge, which was supported by thirty-seven pontoons[1], with all possible precaution; for some of the Greeks who were with Tissaphernes sent word that the enemy designed to attack them in their passage; but this did not prove true. However, while they were

[1] The number of pontoons on which the bridge at Baghdad is supported varies at different periods, according as the bridge is carefully and regularly secured, or the reverse, and according to the different seasons of the year. Hence in 1579 Balbi counted thirty-seven pontoons; Texiera, in 1605, twenty-eight; Della Valle, in 1616, twenty-nine; Thevenot, in 1664, forty; Ives, in 1758, thirty-nine; and Niebuhr, in 1766, thirty-four. In the month of June, 1836, I found the bridge to be two hundred and fifty-three paces in length, and supported by thirty-five boats acting as pontoons.

passing the river, Glus appeared with some others, observing whether they passed it or not; when perceiving they did, he rode off.

From the Tigris they made in four days' march twenty parasangs (sixty miles), and came to the river Physcus, one hundred feet in breadth, having a bridge over it. Here stood a large and populous city, called Opis. Ruins of a city situated upon the 'A'dhem, and identified with Opis, were first visited by Mr. Ross, and subsequently by Captain Lynch and party. They are said to be extensive, but consist chiefly of mounds and fragments, without anything architectural, and I was at first myself inclined to think that if 'Akbará was on the old bed of the river Tigris, so still more ought Opis to be so; and at the point where, in the then existing prolongation of the Physcus, the junction of the two rivers would take place, are in the present day extensive ruins, designated as Bábilín, 'the little Babel;' a not inappropriate name to a city which rose upon the decline of Babylon.

'Opis,' says Dr. Vincent, 'appears to have risen into eminence upon the decline of the Assyrian cities on the Tigris, several of which Xenophon found deserted; and it seems to have decayed in its turn, as Seleucia and Apamea, the creation of the Seleucidæ, became conspicuous.' It was only a village in the time of Strabo, and in the age of Ptolemy, when Ctesiphon was growing up into a capital, it had so far sunk as not to be admitted into his catalogue. It is noticed by Herodotus, who describes the Persians as placing obstacles in the river to prevent Alexander navigating to their city. On this subject Captain Lynch says, 'On looking back to our morning's observations, and the information drawn from the Arabs yesterday, and in former conversations, we were much inclined to adopt the supposition, that the level plain over which we had been wandering, through ruins this morning and yesterday, as far as the dry bed, about three miles or a little further on, was once an

island, and that the Tigris, dividing at the end of the Median wall, swept by the ruins which we noted, some of which may be Opis; as the line of the 'A'dhem, if continued on the map, would pass near them; but I see no reason for supposing that the river did not likewise run in its present course at the same time, that is, with the variations its banks now indicate, and which are the work of a long period, during which the 'A'dhem could not have crossed it; nor is it probable that it was crossed by Xenophon, so that we may still look for Opis in the few ruins near the confluence of the Tigris and 'A'dhem.' Major Rawlinson remarks, that the identification of Opis must obviously depend upon the antiquity of the Káṭúr, or Nahr-wán excavation. 'From the account of Xenophon, we certainly,' says the traveller, 'should not suppose the canal to have existed at the time of the retreat; but if it can be proved to be of an earlier age, then the Physcus will be represented by the canal, rather than the 'A'dhem, and Opis must be removed from its present supposed position to near the ruins of Eskí Baghdád[1].

[1] This is an important consideration in regard to where the Greeks would have first passed water, after crossing the Tigris; if we also suppose that at that time the 'A'dhem was carried off at the band el 'A'dhem, into the lateral canals of Nahr Batt and Nahr Rathán. Yákút, who calls all that part of the Nahr-wán which is north of the Díyáleh, Kátúl; describes this canal, which in all the more ancient Arabian geographies, as in Tabarí and Zakaríyá Kazvíní, is written Kátúr; as more ancient than the Nahr-wán, having been excavated in remote antiquity, and subsequently repaired and augmented, both by Anúshíreván and Hárún al Rashíd; and it is probable, as Col. Rawlinson remarks, that the Sasanians, and after them the khalifs, only repaired an ancient excavation, which dated from the time of the Assyrian monarchs.

The Kátúr had its origin from the Tigris by three different branches, and in Abú-l-fedá's time it was below the junction of these three streams that the canal lost the name of Kátúr, and assumed that of Nahr-wán. According to Tabarí, the most northerly of these branches, which had its origin at Imám Dúr, a short distance above Eskí Baghdád, was the real original Kátúr.

This Dúr appears, according to Col. Rawlinson, to correspond to the Rusa or Sura of Theophanes and Cedrenus in their account of the campaign of Heraclius, and whither the emperor advanced in five marches from the lesser Zab, the intervening distance

At Opis, the Greeks were met by a natural brother to Artaxerxes, who was marching to his assistance at the head of a numerous army, which he had drawn out of Susa and Ecbatana; and causing his troops to halt, he took a view of the Greeks, as they passed by him. Clearchus led his men two by two, standing still from time to time. Thus, while the vanguard halted, the whole army was obliged to stand still, which made their forces appear very numerous, even to the Greeks themselves; and the Persian was struck with the sight.

From Opis, the Greeks made in six days' march thirty parasangs (ninety miles), through the desert part of Media, and arrived at certain villages belonging to Parysatis, the mother to Cyrus and Artaxerxes. The situation of these villages, according to the distance given, would, both in Lynch's and in Rich's maps, fall pretty nearly at the position marked as Tel Kunús, in the first, and Tel Geloos in the second. To insult the memory of Cyrus, Tissaphernes gave the Greeks leave to plunder everything but slaves; by which means they found a great quantity of corn, cattle, and other things.

From these villages of Parysatis they made twenty

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being about eighty miles, and it may also correspond with the Duris of Zozimus, and the plain of Dura, on which Nebuchadnezzar erected the golden image.

The text of Xenophon does not express plainly, whether the Greeks found the large and populous city of Opis, before or after passing the bridge on the Physcus. The metropolis of southern Assyria during the Sasanian dynasty, variously designated as Dastagerd, Kerkh, Beït Saluk, and Eskí Baghdad, was on this side, Dura on the other; and the two were connected by a 'noble bridge" now called Kantarat el Rassasi, or the leaden bridge, from its foundations, formed of large hewn stones, being joined by iron clamps and melted lead. (See Ross, *Journal of R. G. S.* XI. p. 129). No ruins of a bridge, it is to be observed, have been found at the mouth of the 'A'dhem; and while Lynch makes the Median wall terminate at Jíbbárah, which would give it a length of only forty miles; it is more probable that further explorations will shew that it extended to nearly opposite the origin of the Kátúr, when it would have the sixty miles' length given to it by Xenophon, and at the same time start from the neighbourhood of Opis, as described by Strabo.

parasangs in five days' march, through a desert, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of the first day's march, they saw a large and rich city on the other side of the river, called Cœnæ, whence the Persians transported bread, cheese, and wine, upon rafts made of skins. A long march of from eighteen to twenty miles from Tel Kunús would have brought the Greeks to a point where Cœnæ would have been opposite to them, supposing that place to be represented by the existing mounds and ruins called Sénn.

These ruins were first explored by Captain Lynch, who also found there a canal, called Nahr Sénn derived from the Tigris at that place; but I fully satisfied myself, on a visit paid to the same site, on my way to the Assyrian ruins of Ḳal'éh Sherḳát, that this canal could never have been carried into Babylonia, for rocks advance in bold cliffs upon the river between this point and the site of the Ur of the Persians.

There was another town in these districts of the name of Scena, which Strabo calls a remarkable city. It was the chief city of the Scenite Arabs, and was situated in the southern and desert part of Mesopotamia. Its distance from Seleucia is also given, which was eighteen schœni, or one hundred and eight miles, corresponding to the position of the modern Ṭeḳrít; and it was further built upon a canal, which started from the Tigris at that point, and was carried thence to the confines of Babylonia. These are circumstances which will apply to Ṭeḳrít perfectly, but not to Ḳal'éh Sherḳát, nor to any place above, between which and southern Mesopotamia, and consequently Babylonia, are the Ḥamrín hills, through which the Tigris has hewn itself a narrow passage[1].

Three days' march beyond Cœnæ the Greeks arrived at the river Zabatus, four hundred feet in breadth, and where they stayed three days. It is remarkable here,

[1] This pass is called by the Arabs Fakká.

that the same silence which exists in our historian's text with regard to the lower Zab, also obtains in respect to the upper river of the same name, supposing Cœnæ to be correctly identified with Sénn, at the junction of the upper Zab with the Tigris[2]. The distance of eighteen to twenty miles traversed from the villages of Parysatis to opposite Cœnæ, would leave a distance of forty miles to be performed up the river Zabatus, before the Greeks found themselves opposed to the Persians, who had taken up a position at the ford of that river, which they were well aware the Greeks must ultimately have recourse to.

The actual ferry over the river, performed by means of rafts supported on inflated skins, exists in the present day at a place called Kélék I'zedi, or the ferry of the Izedis or Yezidis, from the village adjacent to it being inhabited by that curious sect of Kurds. This is at a distance of about thirty miles from the junction of the Zab with the Tigris, but there is no ford at this place; and it appears that in order to find such, the Greeks proceeded on this occasion ten miles beyond that; but probably as these distances are laid down by air-line, not beyond Kélék Gópár, where the river is said to be fordable at favourable seasons.

The events which occurred upon the banks of the

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[2] The etymology of the Great Zab is a vexed question. The name I generally heard was Záb 'A'la. This is adopted by Rich, Lynch, and Rawlinson. It is certain, however, as D'Anville has advanced, that there is a tribe of Kurds living on its banks, called Zibarrí. Thevenot and Tavernier called it Zarb and Zarbe; and by Pliny it is called Zerbis; from the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, Zerab, abbreviated into Zerb and Zab. Bochart says, that the Zabatos of Xenophon is Zabat, without the Greek termination, and the Chaldee Diavat or Diabat. Ammianus (23, c. 20) calls the greater and lesser Zab, Diaba and Adiaba. Valesius remarks that this conversion of *Z* into *D* is common, as in Zabulus for Diabolus, and thus Zaba became Draba and Adiaba. It is remarkable that this conversion of sounds was preserved by the Romans in naming the province Adiabene. The Zab 'A 'la was however the Lycus of the older geographers, Herodotus and Polybius, who are followed by Strabo and Ptolemy.

Zab were destined to be the most painful and disastrous that had yet happened to the Expedition. The suspicious jealousy which existed between the Greeks and the Persians under Tissaphernes and Ariæus was continually increasing; and although there was no direct evidence of treachery, had become so harassing, that Clearchus resolved to have a conference with Tissaphernes, and, if possible, put an end to it before it broke out into open hostility. This conference was granted, and Clearchus took occasion to point out the folly of the two armies being upon guard against one another, as against enemies; that he could not believe that the Persians had the least thought of hurting the Greeks; that they were bound by oaths, which if any one neglected, he said eloquently, 'he could never be happy; for whoever becomes the object of divine wrath, I know no swiftness can save him, no darkness hide him, no strong place defend him.' He then urged the utility the Greeks might be to Tissaphernes in reducing the Mysians and Pisidians, and even the Egyptians, and finished by asserting the total absence of all treacherous or inimical feelings on the part of the Greeks, and a hope founded upon this, that an end would be put to the existing misunderstandings.

Tissaphernes answered with the customary Persian pride, that the Greeks could have no suspicions of the Persians; for if they wanted to destroy them, what could prevent them doing so at any hour! He then asserted in strong language his fealty to his oath, and concluded by saying, in allusion to a practice then peculiar to kings, but now to all Tajiks, or Persians strictly speaking, 'It is the prerogative of the king to wear an upright turban upon his head; but with your assistance, possibly another may with some confidence wear it in his heart.'

Notwithstanding these noble sentiments thus expressed on both sides, there was a consciousness of intrigue existing, and Clearchus replied, 'Since therefore

we have so many motives to be friends, do not those who by calumnious endeavour to make us enemies, deserve the severest punishment?' 'If you,' said Tissaphernes, 'with the rest of the generals and captains, think fit to come to me in public, I will acquaint you with those who aver that you have designs against me and my army.' 'I will bring them all,' said Clearchus, 'and at the same time let you know, in my turn, whence I received my information concerning you.' The person here suspected was Menon, who was in the camp of Ariæus.

On Clearchus' return to the Greeks, several opposed the generals and captains going to Tissaphernes, whom they said, with too much truth, ought not to be trusted. But Clearchus insisted so strongly upon it, that he prevailed to have five generals and twenty captains sent to him; about two hundred soldiers followed, under colour of going to the market.

When they came to the door of Tissaphernes, the generals, Proxenus, a Bœotian; Menon, a Thessalian; Agias, an Arcadian; Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian; and Socrates, an Achaian, were called in; the captains staid without. Not long after, at the same signal, the generals who were within were made prisoners, while the captains who were without were cut to pieces. After this, some of the Persian horse, scouring the plain, killed all the Greeks they met with, both freemen and slaves. The Greeks, seeing these excursions of the horse from their camp, were surprised, and in doubt of what they were doing, till Nicarchus, an Arcadian, came flying from them, being wounded in the belly, and bearing his bowels in his hands, and informed them of all that had passed. Upon this, the Greeks were amazed, and, expecting they would immediately come and attack their camp, ran to their arms. But they did not all come; only Ariæus, with Artæzus and Mithridates, apparently satrap or prince of Pontus, anterior to Artabazes, the first recognized king of Pontus, although called king of Pontus by Fraser, and

destined to play an important part in the retreat of the Greeks. They were followed by three hundred Persians clad in armour, who, when they drew near, ordered, if any generals or captains of the Greeks were present, they should advance, to the end that they might acquaint them with the king's pleasure.

Upon this, the generals Cleanor, an Orchomenian, and Sophænetus, a Stymphalian, went out of the camp with great caution, and with them Xenophon, that he might learn what was become of Proxenus, to whom he was attached by friendship and the rites of hospitality. (Cheirisophus happened to be absent, being employed with others in getting provisions in some villages.) When they came within hearing, Ariæus said, 'Clearchus, O Greeks! having been found guilty of a violation both of his oath and of the article of peace, is justly punished with death, while Proxenus and Menon are in great honour for having given information of his designs. Of you the king demands your arms, for he says they are his, as having belonged to Cyrus, who was his subject.' The snare here tendered was too palpable, and Cleanor answered indignantly, upbraiding Ariæus, whom he termed the most wicked of men; while Xenophon proposed that, since Proxenus and Menon were in honour, they should be allowed to come to the Greeks, who could then come to some understanding. To this the Persians, however, made no answer, but having conferred together for a considerable time, they departed.

The generals who were apprehended were taken to Babylonia to the king, by whose orders their heads were cut off. Xenophon gives briefly, but touchingly, the character of each. Of Clearchus he says, he was allowed by all that knew him to have been a man both of a military genius, and one who delighted in war to the last degree. He was a severe disciplinarian, and sometimes passionate, but loved by the soldiers in times of danger, who would leave him for a milder commander in times of tranquillity.

Proxenus, the Bœotian, was of an ambitious turn of mind, but wished to rise without infringing the laws of justice and honour. He was at the same time unequal to the command of an army, being always afraid of disobliging any one. He was only thirty years old when he met with his death. Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achaian, were without reproach both in war and friendship, but of Menon the Thessalian, he says, he was not only immoderately fond of command and riches, but to accomplish his purposes would have recourse to perjury, falsehood, and deceit. Simplicity and truth he considered as weaknesses. He had no friendships, deceiving and betraying every one, and commanding his soldiery by participating in their crimes. He was not put to death at the same time as the other generals, but was afterwards punished with death by the king, not by losing his head, but after he had been tortured a whole year like a malefactor. It is probable that the falsehoods uttered by this man to the Persians, and the promises held out by him, were the chief cause of the atrocious treachery effected on the banks of the Zabatus; if so, the Persians have one slight shade of excuse in being deceived as to the uprightness of Clearchus, Proxenus, and the others, and Menon was well punished by his ultimate prolonged torture; but the circumstances, as narrated by the Greek historian, leave an indelible stain on the Oriental character, somewhat similar to that which belongs to our own era, after the lapse of twenty-two centuries, in the conduct of 'Akbár Khán and his 'Afghans to the retreating Britons.

END OF BOOK SECOND.

BOOK THIRD.

Disheartening Position of the Greeks. Xenophon exhorts them. Meeting of Generals and Captains. Xenophon elected General. Devotion of the Greeks. The Soldiers encouraged. Pass the River Zab. Skirmish with Mithridates. Organize a body of Cavalry and Slingers. Khazír-ṣú (Bumadus). Larissa (Resen, Nimrúd). Remains of a Pyramid. Nimrúd as a ruin. Castle at Yárum-Jáh. Mes-Pylæ (Nineveh, Móṣul). Attacks of Tissaphernes. Chá Spi, or White Hills. Passage of the Hills. Zákhú and its Palace. March on the Plain. Chaldean Village of Tel Kóbbin. Opposition at the Hills. Villages near Jezírch. Chaldean Vale of Mánsúríyeh. Discussion concerning Roads. Prepare to pass the Mountains of Kurdistán.

BOOK THIRD.

AFTER the generals were apprehended, and the captains and soldiers who accompanied them put to death, the Greeks were in great distress; knowing that they were surrounded on all sides, with many nations and cities, all their enemies; that no one would any longer supply them with provisions; that they were distant from Greece above ten thousand stadia (one thousand miles), without a guide to conduct them, and their road thither intercepted by impassable rivers; that even those Persians who had served with them under Cyrus had betrayed them, and that they were now left alone without any horse to assist them.

These reflections so disheartened them, that few ate anything that evening, few made fires, and many that night never came to their quarters, but laid themselves down every man in the place where he happened to be, unable to sleep through sorrow, and a longing for country, parents, wives and children, whom they never expected to see again.

Well was it for them that they had in their number some whose minds were more strongly nerved, and capable of exertion in the hour of danger; and one more especially whose fortitude, energy, and judgment, were fully equal to the fearful emergency in which they stood.

This was Xenophon the Athenian, and the historian of the Expedition, who describes himself, as, when the Greeks were in distress, having his share in the general sorrow, and being unable to rest. However, getting a little sleep, he dreamed that it thundered, and that a flash of lightning fell upon his paternal house, which upon that was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright,

and the first thought that occurred to him was, 'Why do I lie here? the night wears away, and as soon as the day appears, it is probable the enemy will come and attack us; and if we fall under the power of the king, what can preserve us from being spectators of the most tragical sights, from suffering the most cruel torments, and from dying with the greatest ignominy? yet no one makes preparation for defence, or takes any care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in quiet. From what city, therefore, do I expect a general to perform these things? what age do I wait for? But, if I abandon myself to the enemy this day, I shall never live to see another.' Upon this, he rose, and first assembled the captains who had served under Proxenus; and when they were together, he said to them, 'Gentlemen! I can neither sleep (which, I suppose, is your case also), nor lie any longer, when I consider the condition to which we are reduced. For it is plain the enemy would not have declared war against us, had they not first made the necessary preparations, while on our side, none takes any care how we may resist them in the best manner possible. If we are remiss, and fall under the power of the king, what have we to expect from him, who cut off the head and hand of his brother, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a stake? How then will he treat us, who have no support, and have made war against him, with a design to reduce him from the condition of a king to that of a subject; and, if it lay in your power, to put him to death? Will he not try the power of every extremity, to the end, that by torturing us in the most ignominious manner, he may deter all men from ever making war against him? we ought therefore to do everything rather than fall into his hands. While the peace lasted, I own I never ceased to consider ourselves as extremely miserable, and the king, with those who belonged to him, equally happy. When I cast my eyes around, and beheld how spacious and beautiful a country they were masters of, how they abounded in provisions,

slaves, cattle, gold, and, rich apparel; and, on the other hand, reflected on the situation of our men, who had no share of all these advantages, without paying for them, which I knew very few were any longer able to do, and that our oaths forbad us to provide ourselves by any other means; when I reflected, I say, on these things, I was more afraid of peace than now I am of war. But since they have put an end to the peace, there seems to be an end also of their insolence, and our jealousy. And these advantages lie now as a prize between us, to be given to the bravest. In this combat the gods are the umpires, who will with justice declare in our favour; for our enemies have provoked them by perjury, while we, surrounded with everything to tempt us, have with constancy abstained from all, that we might preserve our oaths inviolate. So that, in my opinion, we have reason to engage in this combat with greater confidence than they. Besides, our bodies are more patient of cold, of heat, and of labour, than theirs, and our minds, with the divine assistance, more resolved. And if, as before, the gods vouchsafe to grant us the victory, their men will be more obnoxious to wounds and death. But possibly others may also entertain these thoughts. For heaven's sake, then, let us not stay till those come and encourage us to glorious actions, but let us prevent them, and excite even them to virtue. Shew yourselves the bravest of all the captains, and the most worthy to command of all the generals. As for me, if you desire to lead the way in this, I will follow you with cheerfulness, and if you appoint me to be your leader, I shall not excuse myself by reason of my age, but think myself ever in the vigour of it to repel an injury.'

The captains hearing this, all desired that Xenophon would take upon him the command, except a certain person, by name Apollonides, who affected to speak in the Bœotian dialect, and who designated all attempts to return to Greece without the permission of the Persians, as folly and impertinence. But Xenophon reproved him

bitterly, and urged his dismissal from command. Whereupon a Greek present declared that he was not a Bœotian, for to his knowledge both his ears were bored like a Lydian: which was found to be true; so they expelled him from their company.

The rest went to the various quarters of the army, and called up the generals, lieutenants, and captains, that were left. When they were all assembled, they placed themselves before the quarter where the heavy-armed men lay encamped; the number of the generals and captains amounting to about a hundred. It was now near midnight. Then Hieronymus of Elis, the oldest of all the captains who had served under Proxenus, began thus: "Gentlemen! we have thought proper, in the present conjuncture, both to assemble ourselves, and call you together, to the end that we may, if possible, consider of something to our advantage. Do you, O Xenophon! represent to them what you have laid before us.'

Upon this Xenophon addressed them at length, and with a cool and admirable eloquence, urged that it was plain that the Persians intended the destruction of the Greeks, which they should do everything in their power to prevent; that the leaders should be before the men in courage, counsel, and, if necessary, in labour, and should set them an example; that generals and captains should be chosen in the room of those who were slain, and that the soldiers should especially be encouraged.

Upon this Cheirisophus said, "Before this time, O Xenophon! I knew no more of you than that you were an Athenian; but now I commend both your words and actions, and wish we had many in the army like you; for it would be a general good. And now, gentlemen! let us lose no time; those of you who want commanders, depart immediately and choose them; and when that is done, come into the middle of the camp, and bring them with you: after that we will call the rest of the soldiers hither: and let the crier attend.'

Saying this he rose up, that what was necessary might be transacted without delay. After which, Timasion, a Dardanian, was chosen general in the room of Clearchus; Xanthicles, an Achaian, in the room of Socrates; Cleanor, an Orchomenian, in the room of Agias; Philysius, an Achaian, in the room of Menon; and Xenophon, in that of Proxenus.

As soon as the election was over, it being near break of day, the officers advanced to the middle of the camp, and resolved first to appoint outgards, and then to call the soldiers together. When they were all assembled, Cheirisophus addressed them first as a Lacedæmonian, saying that they were in difficulties, but ought not to be depressed, but endeavour to redeem themselves by a glorious victory. Cleanor followed, and apostrophized in a manly strain the treachery of Tissaphernes, and the baseness of Arixus, and concluded by saying that it behoved them not only to take care that these men did not again betray them, but also to fight with all possible bravery.

Then Xenophon rose up, dressed for the war in the most gorgeous armour he could provide; for he thought, if the gods granted him victory, these ornaments would become a conqueror, and if he were to die, they would decorate his fall. He commenced by saying that Cleanor had laid before them the perjury and treachery of the Persians, that there was little chance of their putting themselves again in their power, but that if they proposed to revenge with their swords what they had done, they had many prospects of safety. At this point of his address one of the company sneezed, and such was the profound attention paid to the orator, that it was heard by all the soldiers, who all at once adored the god. ('Jupiter the preserver.') Then Xenophon said, 'Since, O soldiers! while we were speaking of safety, Jupiter sent us an omen, I think we ought to make a vow to offer sacrifice to this god, in thanksgiving for our preservation, in that place where we first reach the territories of our

friends; and also to the rest of the gods, in the best manner we are able. Whoever then is of this opinion, let him hold up his hand.' And they all held up their hands; then made their vows, and sung the Pæan. After they had performed their duty to their gods, Xenophon went on to expatiate upon their fair prospect of safety. In the first place, they had kept their oaths when the Persians had perjured themselves, and the gods were likely to combat with them and to punish their enemies. Their ancestors in small numbers had beat the hosts of the Persians at Marathon, and afterwards the hosts of Xerxes; they themselves fighting for Cyrus, had defeated the troops of the king; and now their own safety was at stake, they ought to shew more courage and alacrity. They had now experience of the cowardice of their opponents; and the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus, who had gone over to them, were worse than them. The want of horse was no cause for concern; ten thousand horse are no more than ten thousand men, for no one was ever killed in action by the bite or kick of a horse. The foot-soldier is steadier on the ground than the horseman. As for guides, they could choose such as should answer for their sincerity by their lives. The markets to the conqueror would no longer be open to the measure of their purse, but of their will. As for the rivers, they are all fordable near their sources, but even if they could not be passed, they could live in the country like the Mysians, Pisidians, and Lycaonians, independent of, and against the will of the king, but they must first endeavour to return to their families. He then proposed, in order to effect this, to burn all the carriages, tents, and superfluous baggage, in order that there might be no impediments to the march, and that the number in the ranks be increased. He then said it was evident that the enemy had seized their generals, concluding that the Greeks would, from want of command and discipline, be destroyed. This was to be obviated by strict attention on the part of the present generals,

and perfect obedience and submission on the part of the soldiery.

At the conclusion of this address Cheirisophus proposed that it should be at once ratified, when they all held up their hands in token of approval. Then Xenophon said that it was most likely that the enemy would, like cowardly dogs, upon their moving follow them, and he proposed that the heavy-armed men should march in the form of an hollow square, and the baggage and bearers in the center. That Cheirisophus, since he was a Lacedæmonian, should command the front, two of the oldest generals should command the flanks, and Timasion and Xenophon himself, being the youngest, would take charge of the rear. He then proposed that all who were of his opinion should hold up their hands: so this was resolved.

After a few more words of exhortation, they all rose up, and departing, burnt their carriages and tents; as for the superfluous part of the baggage, they distributed it among those who were in want, and cast the rest into the fire, and then went to dinner. While they were at dinner, Mithridates advanced with about thirty horse, and, desiring the generals might come within hearing, he said that he was faithful to Cyrus, and willing, if he saw them taking salutary resolutions, to come over to them, and bring his people with him. Cheirisophus answered for the rest, that they intended to march through the country, with as little damage as possible, and if their march was opposed, they would fight their way through in the best manner they were able. Mithridates, upon this, endeavoured to shew how impossible it was for them to return in safety, without the king's consent. This rendered him suspected: besides, one belonging to Tissaphernes was in his company, as a spy upon him. From this time forward, the generals determined that they would admit of no other treaty, while they continued in the enemy's country; for, by coming in this manner, they not only debauched the soldiers, but

Nicarchus, an Arcadian, one of the captains, deserted to them that night, with about twenty men.

As soon as the soldiers had dined, the army passed the river Zabatus, the historian does not say whether by ferry or by ford; but it is to be premised, from the rapid manner in which the passage was effected, that it was by ford, and there is no ford lower down the river than immediately above the actual ferry, near the spot called Ḳélék Gópár, and this is only available at certain seasons. (Appendix, Note 12).

Having passed the Zabatus, the army marched in order of battle, with the baggage, and those who attended it, in the middle. They had not gone far before Mithridates appeared again, with about two hundred horse, and four hundred archers and slingers, very light, and fit for expedition. He advanced as a friend; but when he came near, immediately both horse and foot discharged their arrows; the slingers also made use of their slings, and wounded some of the men, and the rear of the Greeks received great damage, without being able to return it, for the bows of the Cretans did not carry so far as those of the Persians. The former also, being lightly armed, had sheltered themselves in the square, neither could the Greek darters reach the Persian slingers. Xenophon, seeing this, resolved to pursue the enemy; and the heavy-armed men, and targeteers, who were with him in the rear, followed in the pursuit. But they could come up with none of them; for the Greeks had no horse, and their foot could not, in so short a space, overtake those of the enemy, who had so much the start of them. Neither durst they in the pursuit separate themselves too far from the rest of the army; for the Persian horse wounded them as they fled, shooting backward from their horses[1]; and as far as the Greeks were advanced in the pursuit, so far they were obliged to retreat fighting,

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[1] "et versis animosum equis Parthum dicere."—*Horace.* | "Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis."—*Virgil.*

insomuch that they could not march above five and twenty stadia (two miles and a half) all that day; however, in the evening, they arrived in the villages. These villages, two miles and a half from the ferry, were between it and the river Khazír or Gomár-sú, as we may determine from the distance given, and from what occurred the ensuing day. The troops on arriving at these villages were much disheartened, and Cheirisophus, with the oldest generals, blamed Xenophon for leaving the main body to pursue the enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them. Our historian acknowledged his error with great modesty, and said they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the event. He proposed, to obviate the recurrence of such disasters, that the Rhodians in the army, who were skilled in the use of slings, should, by pecuniary recompense, and certain immunities, be induced to find slings, or make them, and list into a body for the service. That at the same time the best baggage-horses, including his own and Clearchus', should be selected, and accoutred for service. These things were resolved upon, and the same night, two hundred slingers listed themselves. The next day, proper horses and horsemen were appointed to the number of fifty, and buff coats and corslets were provided for them; and the command of them was given to Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian.

That day the army staid in the same place, and the next day they began their march earlier than usual, for they had a valley formed by a torrent to pass, and were afraid the enemy should attack them in their passage.

The torrent here alluded to was evidently the Khazír or Gomár-sú, a small river which has its sources in the mountainous districts of Kurdistan, to the west of the central chain, and where its principal branch is called the Gomár-sú, but after its arrival on the fertile plains of Adiabene, where it flows past the eastern foot of the Mons Nicephorium of Alexander, and is joined by the

river of 'Akrá, it is more generally known by the name of Khazír-sú. It is the Bumadus of Quintus Curtius, and of the historians of Alexander; and the adjacent plain, became, on the 1st October, seventy years afterwards, the scene of the final overthrow of the Persian dynasty.

As soon as the Greeks had passed the Bumadus, Mithridates appeared again with a thousand horse and four thousand archers and slingers; for so many Tissaphernes had granted him at his desire, and upon his undertaking, with that number, to deliver the Greeks into his power; for having, in the last action, with a small force, done them (as he imagined) great damage, without receiving any, he had a contempt for them. When the Greeks were advanced about eight stadia, or less than a mile, beyond the valley, Mithridates also passed it with the forces under his command. The Greek generals had given orders to a certain number, both of the targeteers and heavy-armed, to follow the chase, and also to the horse to pursue them boldly, with assurance that a sufficient force should follow to sustain them. When, therefore, Mithridates overtook them, and was now within reach of their slings and arrows, the trumpet sounded, and those of the Greeks who had orders immediately attacked the enemy, the horse charging at the same time. However, the Persians did not stand to receive them, but fled to the valley.

In this pursuit the Persians lost many of their foot, and about eighteen of their horse were taken prisoners in the valley. The Greeks, of their own accord, mangled the bodies of those that were slain, to create the greater horror in the enemy.

After this defeat, the Persians retired, and the Greeks, marching the rest of the day without disturbance, came to the river Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited city, called Larissa, anciently inhabited by the Medes, the walls of which were twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangs (six miles) in circuit; all

built with bricks, except the plinth, which was of stone, and twenty feet high. Close to the city stood a pyramid of stone, one hundred feet square, and two hundred high, in which a great number of the natives, who fled from the neighbouring villages, had conveyed themselves.

The distance marched by the Greeks from the Bumadus to Larissa, near the Tigris, is not recorded by Xenophon, but the Bumadus nowhere approaches the Tigris to within less than twelve miles, and it would have been ten to the great Assyrian ruins, now called by the name of the mighty hunter, Nimrúd. These ruins were first visited in modern times by Mr. Rich, in 1820, and afterward by myself, on an excursion, made on purpose, from Mósul, in 1837. It may be premised here, that without being acquainted with the localities of Larissa, the learned Bochart first advanced the supposition that this Assyrian city was the same as the Resen of Scriptures, and that the Greeks having asked its name, were answered, Al Resen, the article being prefixed, and from whence they made Larissa, by an easy transposition. Fraser, and all modern writers on the subject, prefer this etymology to any identification founded upon the analogy of sound between Resen and Rás'ul 'Aïn, which has an Arabic meaning, 'the head-spring,' a town in northern Mesopotamia, transformed into Ressaina by the Romans. The identity is further supported by the fact of the ruins of Nimrúd being those of an Assyrian city of great antiquity; by their being placed between Nineveh and Calah[1], determined by Major Rawlinson to be at the ruins of Sar Púli Zoháb; by the traditional name of Nimrúd, which is still given to them; and by the remains of the pyramid existing there.

What remains of these ruins in the present day consist chiefly of long mounds of earth, as at Nineveh, marking the former extent and area of the wall of the city, and a hill or mound of a pointed shape, one hundred and forty-

[1] Genesis x. 12.

four feet in height[1]. At the time I first visited the ruins of Nimrúd, I was not acquainted with Mr. Rich's researches, which were published in 1836, and the effect, as I rode down upon the extensive plain, which stretches out between the two great rivers, Tigris and Zab, interrupted by this very remarkable isolated conical hill, and the long rows of mounds which stretch from it, was very striking; and I felt at the moment certain that I had fallen upon the pyramid of Larissa, as described by Xenophon. This hill was undoubtedly rivetted with stonemason work, as described by Xenophon, vestiges of which still remain at the western base, and similar to what is observed on the brick mound of Kal'éh Sherkát. But I cannot understand how the peasants could convey themselves into the pyramid; the historian most likely meant to say, 'close to the city in which a great number fled from the villages had conveyed themselves, stood a pyramid,' &c. Fragments of bricks with arrow-headed characters are not uncommon within the circuit of the wall, where glazed tiles, pottery, and other relics, are to be found in abundance.

This remnant of an Assyrian empire, that was extinguished seven hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, was already an uninhabited ruin in the time of Xenophon, but, according to our historian, it was also anciently inhabited by the Medes; a power which ruled in these countries from the time of Cyaxares I. about B.C. 650, till the conquests of Cyrus the Great B.C. 560.

This was a century and a half before the time of the Greeks coming there, and it is probable that Resen or Nimrúd was devastated by the founder of the Persian

[1] This pyramidal mount forms the north-west angle of a walled-in platform, one thousand feet north and south, by five hundred and fourteen east and west. The pyramid is steep, and the top very small; but its base measured upwards of seven hundred feet in circumference. Fragments of bricks, with cuneiform inscriptions, thicker than those of Babylon, are scattered about. This spot is also called Al Athur, or Asshur, by the natives.

dynasty, and did not recover itself, but remained a ruin ever since that time, or for a period amounting in the present day to twenty-three centuries.

It may be remarked, that Xenophon describes the walls of Resen as being built of brick, except the foundations, which were of stone, and twenty feet high; and I ascertained by examination that they were in most parts (see *Researches*, &c. p. 257) based on a rude and hard conglomerate rock, giving to them all the solidity and characteristics of being built of stone.

Xenophon also relates that the King of Persia, who was then wresting the empire from the Medes, when besieging this city could not make himself master of it by any means, till it happened that the sun, obscured by a cloud, disappeared, and the darkness continued, till the inhabitants being seized with consternation, the town was taken.

The Greeks made from Resen in one day's march six parasangs (eighteen miles) to a large uninhabited castle, standing near a town called Mespila, formerly inhabited also by the Medes. The distance here performed would carry the Greeks from Nimrúd to the modern village of Yárúm-jah, built upon a mound of ruins, which may thus, from Xenophon's evidence, be determined to have belonged to a castle, and situated on a bend of the river at a short distance from the ruins of Nineveh.

Yárúm-jah now presents to view a high abrupt bank, which forms a section of an artificial mound, broken down by the current of the Tigris. The mound is eleven hundred and fifty feet long, by forty-two in perpendicular height. On its south side is situated the village, the inhabitants of which are not Arabs, but Turkomans. Where the soil has been cut down to a precipice by the waters, it exhibits remains of buildings, such as layers of large stones, some with bitumen on them, and a few burnt bricks and tiles. Layers of stone-work are to be seen likewise. Rich considered these vestiges to have formed part of Nineveh, from which however they are separated

by a considerable interval void of all remnant of buildings.

That the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon is the same as the Nineveh of antiquity, is evidenced by distances, and by the circumstances that there are no other ruins of extent sufficient, excepting these, to answer the description of Xenophon. But I have established (*Researches*, pp. 257 and 58) a strongly corroborative proof, in the circumstance that the plinth of the wall is described by the historian as being built of polished stone full of shells; and it is a curious fact, that the common building-stone of Mósul is highly fossiliferous, and indeed replete with shells, characteristic of a tertiary or supracretaceous deposit; and the same limestone does not occur far to the north or to the south of Mósul, being succeeded by wastes of gypsum. Leunclavius argued that these shells were sculptured on the walls, others have treated the whole subject as unworthy of attention, but it has served, like any other correct observation, to illustrate a question of identity, in the most satisfactory manner. The extent given by Xenophon to the wall, of six parasangs (eighteen miles), far exceeds what remains in the present day, and contributes towards multiplying the doubts which have existed among historians as to the magnitude of this great city of the Assyrians.

Xenophon relates that Media, the king's consort, took refuge at Nineveh, when the Medes were deprived of their command in Assyria by the Persians. When the Persian king (Cyrus the great) besieged this city, he could not make himself master of it, either by length of time or force, but Jupiter having struck the inhabitants with a panic fear, it was taken. As it was an uninhabited city in the time of Xenophon, it is probable that, like its contemporary Resen, it did not long hold up its head after the conquest of the Persians. And it is also probably to this remote time that we must trace the first foundation ef Mósul, now a large city on the opposite bank of the Tigris. The orthography adopted by Major Rennell, a careful scholar as well as a good geographer, is Meso-Pulai, or

Meso-Pylæ, 'the middle-gate strait or pass,' and applicable to the narrow pass of the Tigris, which has existed at this point from the most remote historical times, and is still the most frequented passage over the Tigris. One would almost think that the word Mósul was itself derived from Mesulæ, a corruption of Meso-Pylæ; but considering the little connexion of Greeks or Romans with the spot, such an etymology is scarcely admissible, although I was at one time inclined to follow Rennell, and admit it. A minute description of the history and present state of Nineveh, and Mósul, would be out of place here; and to any one interested in these very remarkable places, I must beg to refer to my *Travels*, &c. vol. II. chap. 33.

From Mespila, the Greeks made, in one day's march, four parasangs (twelve miles). This would have carried them to villages which are now represented by the small town of Chaldeans called Tel Keïf[1], a site of much interest on the plain of Adiabene, and evidently of great antiquity. During their march Tissaphernes appeared with his own horse, and the forces of Orontas, who had married the king's daughter, together with the troops that had served under Cyrus in his expedition; to these was added the army which the king's brother had brought to his assistance, and the troops the king had given him. All these together made a vast army. When he approached, he placed some of his forces against the rear of the Greeks, and others against each of the flanks, but was chary of attacking them, being unwilling to hazard a battle; contenting himself with ordering his men to use their slings and bows. But when the Rhodians, who were disposed in platoons, began to make use of their slings, and the Cretan bowmen, in imitation of the Scythians, discharged their arrows, none of them missing the enemy (which they could not easily have done, though they had endeavoured it), Tissaphernes himself got quickly out of their reach, and the other divisions retired. The remain-

[1] Tel Keïf, or Kif—"pleasure mount."

ing part of the day the Greeks continued their march, and the others followed without harassing them any more with skirmishes: for the slings of the Rhodians not only carried further than those of the Persians, but even than most of the archers could throw their arrows. The Persian bows were so long, that their arrows when gathered up were of great service to the Cretans, who continued to make use of them, and accustomed themselves to take a great elevation, in order to shoot them to a greater distance. Besides, there were found a considerable quantity of bow-strings in the villages, and some lead, both which were employed for the slings.

After the Greeks had encamped in the villages, the Persians having suffered in the skirmish, retired; and they remained there the next day, and made their provisions; for there was plenty of corn in these villages; the country around being still to the present day one of the most productive granaries of Assyria. The day after they marched over the open country, and Tissaphernes followed, harassing them at a distance. Xenophon's proposal of marching in a solid square was now found to be unfeasible; for whenever the road narrowed, the wings had to close, and the men being forced out of the ranks, the utmost disorder was induced, and again when they came to be extended, an opening was left in the centre, which exposed those who were placed there. To obviate these evils, six companies, of one hundred men each, subdivided again into fifties, were formed, and were appointed to stay and defend the rear when a narrow presented itself; and to fill up any vacancy that presented itself in the wings, when the square had to extend itself again. In this disposition they made four marches.

'While they were upon their march the fifth day, they saw a palace, and many villages lying round it.' The road which led to this palace lay over high hills, so that the Greeks could not have seen the palace till these were encompassed. They rejoiced at meeting with these hills, the enemy's forces consisting chiefly in horse.

The first hills that are met with in proceeding northward from Adiabene to Karduchia, are the double range designated as the Jebel 'Abyádh of the Arabs, and Chá Spi of the Kurds, both signifying the 'white hills;' and immediately beyond them is Zákhú, at a distance by map of about fifty miles from Tel Keïf, but by road nearer to sixty, giving an average of four parasangs or twelve miles per diem, which, under the circumstances in which they were placed, is as much as they could be expected to perform, and could only have been accomplished in a tolerable good country, which all that part of Assyria is, as far as to the hills, being chiefly level pasturing plains, watered by several small streams, with, in the present day, occasional, but not numerous villages. It is necessary to understand the peculiar disposition of the Chá Spi range, in order to follow the movements of the Greeks and their assailants.

This range is divided at the point of passage into three parts. The first or southerly range is the highest and most difficult. The second, in the interior, is woody and hilly at the same time, and the third is constituted of a range of rocks which in the westerly prolongation of the Chá Spi unite with the main chain, all three cementing to constitute one range previous to reaching the Tigris. The time taken to pass these three ranges, which I have done on two different occasions, viz. in 1837 and 1840, is from four to five hours, the difficulties of the road being considerable to baggage-horses taking their own time: what then must have been the toil and trouble to the Greeks, attended by much baggage and many useless followers, and obliged to fight their way through the same pass?

The Barbarians made their appearance, after the Greeks had ascended the first hill, and while they were descending thence, in order to climb the next, they showered down from the adjacent heights, darts, stones, and arrows. They wounded many, and had the advantage over the Greek light-armed men, forcing them to retire within the body of the heavy-armed; so that the

slingers and archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with those who had the baggage; and when the Greeks, being thus prepared, endeavoured to pursue the enemy, as they were heavy-armed men they moved slowly to the top of the mountain, while the enemy retreated; and when the Greeks retired to their main body, the same thing happened to them again. They found the same difficulty in passing the second hill; so that they determined not to order out the heavy-armed men from the third hill; but instead of that, brought up the targeteers to the top of the mountain, from the right of the square. When these were got above the enemy, they no longer molested the Greeks in their descent, fearing to be cut off from their own body, and that the Greeks would attack them on both sides. In this manner they marched the rest of the day, some in the road among the hills, and others abreast of them upon the adjacent heights, till they came to the villages; when they appointed eight surgeons, for there were many wounded.

The appearance of Zákhú in the present day coincides in a remarkable manner with what it was described to be in the time of Xenophon; a palace amid villages, constituting, in fact, a good picture of what we can imagine a baronial castle to have been in feudal times, surrounded by the cottages of serfs and retainers. As the stranger approaches, he is struck with its bold and isolated appearance. It is not like Mósul, a town in a partially civilized country; but is an outpost of warlike Kurdistan. Built on an island of rocky conglomerate, it rises out of the blue waters of the Khábúr—a pile of ruin belonging to different ages, with abutments and foundations of solid hewn stones, possibly of Persian origin, walls of more recent, but still ancient construction; and lastly, mud compartments, so characteristic of modern Turkish pride and poverty, and which disfigure the loftier parts.

The Greeks staid three days at the ancient palace

of Zákhú, both on account of the wounded, and because they found plenty of provisions, as wheat-meal, wine, and a great quantity of barley for horses; all which was laid up for the satrap of the country.

The fourth day they advanced upon the plain[1]; the reading here, in the original, is, 'descended upon the plain,' which is not accurately applicable to the position of Zákhú; yet there is no other site in the neighbourhood, and still less likely to have been one situated upon the mountains. Tissaphernes soon overtook them on the plain, with the army under his command, and taught them how necessary it was to encamp in the first village they came to, and to march no longer fighting, for some being wounded, some employed in carrying those that were so, and others in carrying the arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a condition to fight. But when they were encamped, and the Persians coming up to the village, offered to skirmish, the Greeks had greatly the advantage of them, for they found a great difference between sallying from their camp to repulse the enemy, and being obliged to march fighting, whenever they were attacked. When the evening approached it was time for the Persians to retire; because they never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks than sixty stadia, for fear the latter should fall upon them in the night.

When the Greeks perceived that the Persians were about to retire, they, in the enemy's hearing, received orders to make ready to march; whereupon the Persians made a halt, but when it grew late they departed; when the Greeks plainly saw they were retired, they also decamped, and marching away, advanced sixty stadia (six miles).

It is impossible, considering all the circumstances of the case, as so faithfully narrated by our historian, to allow a longer march in the day-time, when labouring

[1] 'Romaion ager' of Procopius, according to D'Anville, p. 87.

under the difficulties before enumerated, than was performed at night, when these difficulties only in part presented themselves. This would only take the Greeks a distance of twelve miles on the great plain of Zákhú, scarcely equal to the distance of the Chaldean village of Tel Kóbbin, a site, from its neighbouring mound, of evident antiquity; besides that, as we have seen in Tel Keïf, and other apparently most insignificant places, the immutable order of things, induced by the necessity of circumstances in position, nature of soil, presence of water, and other physical features, entail in these countries a perpetuation of even the smallest village, almost from the most ancient historical times.

The two armies, as the Greeks imagined, were now at so great a distance from one another, that the enemy did not show himself either the next day, or the day after; but from what appears afterwards, the Persians were more likely taking a position, at which to oppose the Greeks with advantage. The distance marched during these two days does not, from various circumstances, and probably from their being encumbered by the wounded, exceed three parasangs, or nine miles per day.

On the fourth day from Zákhú, the Persians were found to have got before them in the night, and possessed themselves of an eminence that commanded the road, through which the Greeks were to pass. It was the brow of a hill, under which lay the descent into the plain. This eminence appears to be the last of the series, of which the first, or most southerly, is that occupied by the now ruinous castle of Rabáhí[1], while the last overlooks a fertile tract, with villages that extend along Tigris, south of Jezíreh.

[1] Rabdium of the Byzantines, Túr-Rabdín of the Jehán Numá, in the neighbourhood of which was the Romaion ager. D'Anville remarks upon the singularity of a Roman plain on the limits of the Persian domination, but he erroneously identifies Rabdium with Rúm-'il. It is in the present day a plain, chiefly tenanted by Christian Chaldeans.

As soon as Cheirisophus saw this eminence possessed by the enemy, he sent for Xenophon from the rear, and desired him to bring up the targeteers to the front. Xenophon, however, did not like to leave the rear exposed, and proposed to climb the hills on their right hand, which enabled them to command the eminence. To effect this, he took with him troops from the front and flank, besides the three hundred chosen guard of Cheirisophus.

The enemy, who were upon the hills, the moment they saw the Greeks climb the mountain, advanced at the same time, striving to get there before them. Upon this occasion there was a great shout raised, both by the Greek army and that of Tissaphernes, each encouraging their own men. Xenophon riding by the side of his troops, called out to them, 'Soldiers! think you are this minute contending to return to Greece—this minute to see your wives and children: after this momentary labour we shall go on without any further opposition.' Upon this, a discontented soldier, whose name is preserved by the historian, Soteridas, the Sicyonian, said, 'We are not upon equal terms, O Xenophon! for you are on horseback, while I am greatly fatigued with carrying my shield.' Xenophon hearing this, leaped from his horse, and thrust him out of the ranks; and taking his shield, marched on as fast as he could. He had, however, on him a horseman's corslet, which impeded his progress, and the rest of the soldiers beat and abused Soteridas, and threw stones at him, till he was glad to retake his shield, and go on. Xenophon then remounted, and led them on horseback, as far as the way would allow; and when it became impassable for his horse, he hastened forward on foot. At last they gained the top of the mountain, and turned the enemy's position, observing which, they fled every one as he could, and the Greeks remained masters of the eminence. Tissaphernes and Ariæus with their men turned out of the road, and went another way, while Cheirisophus with his forces marched down into the plain, and encamped

in a village abounding in everything. There were also many other villages in this plain, near the Tigris, full of all sorts of provisions. The plain here alluded to is evidently the district around the modern Jezíreh ibn 'Omár, the Bezabde[1] of the Romans, and Zozarta of the Chaldeans.

In the evening the enemy appeared on a sudden in the plain, and cut off some of the Greeks who were dispersed in plundering; for many herds of cattle were taken as the people of the country were endeavouring to make them pass the river. Tissaphernes and his army attempted to set fire to the villages; which disheartened the Greeks, but Xenophon endeavoured to look upon it as a good sign, and wished to attack the burners, but was overruled by Cheirisophus.

When they came to their tents, the generals and captains assembled, and were in great perplexity; for, on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river so deep, that when they sounded it with their pikes the end of them did not even appear above the water. While they were in this perplexity, a Rhodian came to them, and proposed to construct a bridge of inflated skins, such as are used to the present day, both on the Tigris and Euphrates for rafts, and other purposes, and to anchor them with stones, and lay fascines upon them, and cover them with earth.

The generals thought the proposal ingenious, but could not be acted upon, because great numbers of horse were assembled on the other side of the river to oppose their passage.

The next day the army turned back again, taking a different road from that which leads to Babylon, and marched to the villages that were not burned, setting

[1] From Beït Zabda of the older Syrians and Chaldeans; also called Zabda and Zabdicena. The Khalif 'Omár, son of 'Abd-al-'Azíz, the ninth of the Ommiade dynasty, constructed the dyke which left to the Roman municipality his name. For the history of this remarkable site, see my *Travels*, &c. Vol. II. p. 344.

fire to those they abandoned, insomuch that the enemy did not ride up to them, but looked on, wondering which way the Greeks meant to take, and what their intention was. I am led from this particular passage to think that the Greeks had approached to the foot of the mountains in the vale of Már Yuhannah, where they were so much struck, with what is before described, the depth of the water and the overhanging mountains, that they proceeded a short distance up the valley to explore the country, and deliberate upon their next steps.

This valley is now the seat of an almost isolated Chaldean community, who do not belong to the Church of Rome. They have several villages, among which are those of Mánsúríyeh, on Tigris, and seven others in the interior, at the head of which is Már Yuhannah, the seat of a Chaldean bishop.

Here, while the soldiers were employed in getting provisions, the generals and captains re-assembled, and ordering the prisoners to be brought in, enquired concerning every country that lay round them. The prisoners informed them that there was to the south a road that led to Babylon and Media, through which they came; another to the east, leading to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king is said to pass the summer and the spring; therefore evidently not the Assyrian Ecbatana ('Amádíyah), which was close by, but the Atropatenian Ecbatana[2], recognised by Colonel Rawlinson as represented by the

[2] Colonel Rawlinson remarks, (*Journ. of R. G. S.* Vol. x. p. 147) upon this, that it is perhaps the only marked geographical application to the Atropatenian Ecbatana, which occurs between the æra of Darius and the Macedonian invasion, but it is impossible to say whether Xenophon himself recognised the distinction between the Ecbatana of Media (Hamadán), the Ecbatana of Assyria ('Amádíyah), and the Ecbatana of Atropatene (Takhti Suleïmán), or whether he merely repeated the popular story of the country (*Cyr.* lib. iii.) without understanding its real allusion. Col. Rawlinson considers this route, from the foot of the Karduchian mountains to Ecbatana and Susa, refers to the line by Rowándiz and Sídek, but the road is stated distinctly as starting to the east, from the foot of the mountains, at the pass of the Tigris, and has no relation whatsoever to the road from Nineveh and Arbela by Rowándiz and Sídek to Ushnëi.

ruins at Takhti Suleïmán, and therefore approachable by the valley through the country of the Berráwí, and the upper Zab, falling into the route usually pursued in traversing the mountains by Júl-ámerik into Persia. Why Susa is brought in here, I cannot tell, as it is nearer and more easily attained by Media and Babylonia, than by having to cross the mountains twice. The prisoners said there was a third road to the west, over the Tigris, to Lydia and Ionia; and that the road which lay over the mountains to the north led to the Karduchians. This people, they said, inhabited those mountains, and were a warlike nation, and not subject to the king; and that once the king's army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, penetrated into their country, whence not one of them returned, the roads being hardly passable. But that whenever there was a peace subsisting between them and the governor residing in the plain, there was an intercourse between the two nations. Thus have these hardy mountaineers, for these twenty centuries and upwards, amidst so many succeeding dynasties, preserved a sort of independence among all.

The generals hearing this, kept those prisoners by themselves, from whom they received the intelligence of each country; without discovering what route they designed to take. However, they found there was a necessity to pass the mountains, and penetrate into the country of the Karchudians; for the prisoners informed them, that, as soon as they had passed through it, they would arrive in Armenia, which was a spacious and plentiful country, and of which Orontas was governor; whence they might, without difficulty, march which way soever they pleased. Upon this they offered sacrifice, to the end that when they found it convenient they might depart (for they were afraid the pass over the mountains might be possessed by the enemy), and commanded the soldiers, as soon as they had supped, to get their baggage ready, then all go to rest, and march upon the first order.

END OF BOOK THIRD.

BOOK FOURTH.

Entrance into Karduchia or Kurdistán. Pass of the Tigris. Fénik (Ancient Phœnica). Opposition of the Kurds. Dismissal of Slaves. Rivulet of Záwíyah. Pass of Ḳónákti. Village of Fínduk. Pass of Chelék. Baggage follows a devious Route. Two Greek Captains killed. Conflict of the Three Hills. Vale of Ḳúwárro. Kurd Houses. Plastered Cisterns. Ferry of Chelék. Pass between Chelék and Buhtánchaï. Villages on the Centrites. The Centrites (Buhtánchaï). Pass of Jánimíyah. Opposition at the Ford. Palace at So'rt. Sources of the Tigris. Teleboas (Ḳárá-sú). Elevation of Uplands. Extreme Cold of Armenian Uplands. Attack upon Teribazus. Ford the Euphrates. Village and Palace. Khanús Kaléhsí. Sufferings from the Snow. Armenian Cottages. The Guide runs away. River Phasis (Phison, Modern 'Arás). Pass of Ḳapán Ṭágh. Country of Taochians. Fort of the Taochians. Self-destruction of the Women. Chalybians, or Chaldeans. The Harpasus. 'Arpáchaï. Gymnias (Erz-Rúm). First Sight of the Sea. Theches 'Holy Mountain' (Ḳóp Ṭágh). River Apsarus (Tchórúk-sú). The Macronians. The Colchian Range. Intoxicating Honey. Properties of the Apocynæ and Rhodoraceæ. Arrive at Trebizond. Other Version of the March through Armenia.

BOOK FOURTH.

WHEN the Greeks,' says Xenophon, 'came to the place where the river Tigris is, both from its depth and breadth, absolutely impassable, and no road appeared, the craggy mountains of the Karduchians hanging over the river, the generals resolved to march over those mountains,' for reasons previously detailed. To the end, therefore, that the enemy might not be acquainted with their design of penetrating into the country of the Karduchians, and defeat it, by possessing themselves of the eminences, they executed it in the following manner; when it was about the last watch, and so much of the night was left as to allow them to traverse the plain while it was yet dark, they decamped, and marching when the order was given, came to the mountain by break of day. Cheirisophus commanded the vanguard, with his own people and all the light-armed men, and Xenophon brought up the rear with the heavy-armed. Cheirisophus gained the top before he was perceived by the enemy, then led forward; and the rest of the army, as fast as they passed the summit, followed him into the villages of Karduchians, that lay dispersed in the valleys and recesses of the mountains.

Thus they accomplished their entrance into Kurdistan without opposition, and crossed one of the most defensible passes which they were almost destined to meet. This is the point where the lofty mountain-chain, now designated as Jebél Júdí, and the same, according to Chaldean, Syriac, and Arabian traditions, as that on which the ark rested, comes down to the very flood of the Tigris, which it encloses in an almost impassable barrier of rock.

The spur of the Jebel Júdí, which here advances upon the river, does not descend in absolute precipices, but has at its upper part a steep wall of rock, composed of limestone beds, in nearly horizontal strata, succeeded below by steep declivities of detritus, with occasional masses of rock, or fallen cliff jutting out into the river, so piled together in promontories, that it is only during the summer-season that a single file of pedestrians, or horsemen, can get through by the foot of the pass.

The Greeks, however, went over the hills, which are from six to seven hundred feet in height, and accessible from the valley of Már Yuhannah, but not from that of the Tigris, at least at the commencement of the pass; and here a curious point for description presents itself: the line of hills and cliffs gradually recede from the river Tigris, till suddenly, from having a nearly horizontal stratification, additional beds of rock make their appearance in front of the cliffs, dipping nearly vertically to the West, and rising in rude, irregular conical summits, in front of what had been hitherto one continuous wall of rock. The recesses thus left between the hills are in the present day the seat of villages, as they were in the time of Xenophon, and the crags in front, and in the rear, bristle with the small and rude rock-forts of the Kurds.

On my first visit to this remarkable spot, my surprise and pleasure may be well imagined, at finding extending before me a considerable expanse of well-wooded gardens, which stretched from the hills down to the water-side, and for about two miles up the river-course. Nothing could exceed the rich luxuriance of these groves and orchards; there were open spaces here and there for maize, melon, gourd and cucumber, but otherwise, the groves of plum, apricot, and peach, appeared almost inaccessible, from the dense lower growth of fig-trees and pomegranates, themselves again half hid beneath clustering

vines. Overlooking this scene of vegetative splendour, and upon the side of the hill, were the ruins of a castellated building, the battlemented wall and irregularly dispersed square towers of which still remain. This building covered a considerable space, being six hundred yards in depth, by eleven hundred in length. Traces of out-works, and of buildings connected with it, were also quite evident, stretching downwards to the gardens.

On two mounds, not far distant from each other, and close to the river, are the ruins of two smaller castles of similar character to the large one, only with double battlements, and consequently rising more loftily from the deep green groves, in the midst of which they are situated. It would appear, from the quantity of ruins in every direction, that the spot became, subsequently to Xenophon's time, the site of a town; and such a one is noticed by Ammianus Marcellinus, under the name of Phœnica[1], from whence its present name Fénik, or equally probable Fénik was classically rendered Phœnica.

In a deep and rocky glen at the head of these gardens is situated the village of Geli, or Keli Shéráfi, many of the houses of which are hewn out of rock, and some of them out of fallen masses, which often stand erect at the foot of the cliffs, like great obelisks, with a doorway in front. On the cliffs around are also numerous sepulchral grots, and the remains of aqueducts.

To the north of this glen is another of greater dimensions, in which is the modern large village of Fénik, containing about one hundred houses, many of them excavated. The village is defended by several Kurd forts, two of which were on the opposite hill-tops, while other small ones succeeded to one another along the crest and acclivities down to the village. This pass of the Tigris was rendered quite impracticable to strangers by the Kurds of these villages, till the time of Reshid Páshá,

[1] D'Anville has a notice of this place also from Ammianus, 'Phœnica, munimentum per quam tempestivum'; but he places it between Se'rt and Erzen.

who brought them under subjection; and I was myself driven back in an attempt made to explore them in 1836, but succeeded in getting through in 1840.

On the arrival of the Greeks, the Karduchians left their houses, and, with their wives and children, fled to the hills, where they had an opportunity of supplying themselves with provisions in abundance. The houses were well furnished with all sorts of brass utensils (this is to the present day a feature of the Kurds, who take great pride in their *copper*, not brass utensils,) which the Greeks forbore to plunder; neither did they pursue the inhabitants, in hopes, by sparing them, to prevail upon the Karduchians, since they were enemies to the king, to conduct them through their country in a friendly manner: but they took all the provisions they met with, for they were compelled to it by necessity.

But the Karduchians paid no regard to their invitations, nor shewed any other symptoms of a friendly disposition; and attacked the rear of the Greek army as it was descending from the top of the mountains into the villages, it being now dark (for as the way was narrow, they spent the whole day in the ascent of the mountains, and the descent from thence into the villages), a circumstance not to be wondered at, for it took me from thirty-three minutes past three in the morning till six A.M. to ride along the river's banks from Mánsúríyeh, above the vale of Már Yuhannah, to the first castle of Phœnica. The Karduchians gathering courage at night-fall, attacked the hindmost Greeks, and killed and wounded some of them with stones and arrows. They passed the night in the villages; the Karduchians making fires all round them, upon the mountains, and both had their eyes upon one another.

As soon as it was day, the generals and the captains of the Greeks assembled, and resolved to reserve only those sumpter-horses upon their march that were necessary and most able, and to leave the rest, and dismiss all the slaves they had newly taken; for the great number

of sumpter-horses and slaves retarded their march; and many of their men, by having charge of these, were unfit for action. Besides, there being so many mouths, they were under a necessity of providing and carrying double the quantity of provisions. This being resolved, they gave order to put it into execution.

While, therefore, they were upon their march, after dinner,—for having held a council that morning, it appears they did not start till after mid-day,—the generals placed themselves in a narrow pass, and whatever they found reserved by the soldiers, contrary to order, they took it away, and the men submitted. In this manner they marched that day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves.

Beyond Fénik, the hills and the river recede from one another, and the latter being soon after shut up amid impassable precipices, the road is carried over the hills, and as this is founded upon the unalterable necessities of the soil, or of the configuration of the country, it is probable that this was as much the case in the time of Xenophon as in the present day. As the troops did not start till after dinner, more than seven to eight geographical miles cannot be allowed to the day's march, which would carry them to the slope of the hills in the neighbourhood, where are now the remains of Kónákti and other castles, built of hewn stones cemented by mortar, and belonging to more recent times, but defending an important approach to the interior. There is only one pass on the line of road thus travelled, adapted for the purposes mentioned by Xenophon, and that is the ravine of the rivulet of Záwíyah, deep and narrow, and descended and reascended at only one point, the remainder being vertical cliffs, with here and there a sepulchral grotto.

The next day there was a great storm, the very place to meet it, on the ascent to the highlands of Fínduk; but they were obliged to go on, for their provisions failed them. Cheirisophus led the van, and Xenophon brought

up the rear. Beyond the castle of Kónákti the road enters into a narrow glen, and winds round along similar passes, till carried along the face of a tremendous precipice, over which one of our horses was nearly being precipitated, but was saved, by possessing just presence of mind sufficient to draw himself up at the brink; beyond these ravines are more open and cultivated highlands, leading by the village of Fínduk (Kurds) to the valley of the Tigris, where are the Syrian villages of Kúwárro, Báráván, and others.

Xenophon describes in similar manner the ways as being narrow, from which reasons the enemy made a brisk attack upon them, and coming up close, discharged their arrows, and made use of their slings; so that the Greeks sometimes pursuing, and sometimes retreating, were obliged to march slowly; and Xenophon was obliged often to order the army to halt, when the enemy pressed hard upon them. The enemy appears now to have been solely Kurds, for the Persians are not noticed as having pursued the Greeks beyond the pass of Kurdistan.

Cheirisophus wearied with this dilatory mode of progress, at length made his way forwards, marching faster than usual, and ordering the men to follow him, so that the march of those in the rear had the resemblance more of a flight than a retreat. In this pass were slain Cleonymus a Lacedæmonian, and a brave man, who was wounded in the side by an arrow, that made its way both through his shield and his buff coat. Here also fell Basias, an Arcadian, whose head was pierced quite through with an arrow.

When they arrived at the place where they designed to encamp, and which appears to have been when they had crossed the hills of Fínduk, and gained the slope where are the Syrian villages of Kúwárro and Báráván, and which exposed to their view the valley of the Tigris, shut up in its upper part by the almost impenetrable pass of Chelék[1], and having accomplished a distance of about

[1] The Kurds pronounce Kelék, a raft or ferry, Chelék.

seven miles, Xenophon upbraided Cheirisophus with his hurry, but the other answered him by pointing to the road before them; calling upon him to observe how impassable the mountains were, defended by a multitude of men, and that he had marched hastily to make himself master of the pass. Xenophon told him that he had taken two prisoners, who being brought before them, were questioned separately, whether they knew of any other road than that which lay before them. One of them said he knew no other, though he was threatened with divers kinds of torture, but as he persisted, the poor fellow was put to death, in the presence of the other. The survivor, affrighted by this, promised to take them over the hills, instead of by the river-banks, which are not passable to an army except at very low water, and then only by partial wading, besides being commanded by the neighbouring hills; but he told them that there was a summit, which, if not gained in time, the passage would be rendered impracticable.

Upon this it was thought proper to assemble the captains, the targeteers, and some of the heavy-armed men; and having informed them how matters stood, to see if any volunteers would offer themselves. Three captains of the heavy-armed men contested this difficult service, but only one officer of the light-armed men offered himself, Aristeas of Chios. He had, upon many occasions of this nature, done great service to the army.

The day was now far advanced; so the generals ordered the volunteers to eat something and set out, and delivered the guide to them bound. It was agreed, that if they made themselves masters of the summit, they should make it good that night, and as soon as it was day give them notice of it by sounding a trumpet; and that those above should charge that body of the enemy which was posted in the passage that lay before them, while those below marched up to their assistance with all the expedition they were able. When these things were thus

ordered, they set forward, being about two thousand in number.

At the same time Xenophon marched at the head of the rear-guard towards the passage before them, in order to draw the attention of the enemy that way, and conceal, as much as possible, the march of the detachment. When Xenophon, with the rear-guard, came to a valley which they were to pass, in order to climb the ascent, the Barbarians rolled down vast round stones, each a ton in weight, with others both larger and smaller. These being dashed against the rocks in their fall, the splinters were hurled every way, which made it absolutely impossible to approach the road. The scene of this event appears to be at the entrance of the pass of Chelék, where a rivulet of very clear water flows into Tigris, by a narrow ravine hemmed in, as the Tigris is also from this point northwards, by perpendicular rocks. A road carried up in part by steps leads up the cliff to the ruins of a castle that once domineered over this important position. Some of the captains despairing to gain this passage, endeavoured to find out another, and employed themselves in this manner till it was dark. When they imagined they could retire without being seen, they went away to get their supper; for the rear-guard had not dined that day. However, the enemy continued to roll down stones all night, as was perceived by the noise they made in their fall. In the mean time, those who marched round with the guide surprised the enemy's guard as they were sitting round a fire; and having killed some of them, and forced others down the precipice, they staid there, thinking they had made themselves masters of the summit. But in this they were mistaken, for there was still an eminence above them, near which lay the narrow way, where the guard sate. *There was indeed a passage from the post they had taken, to that the enemy were possessed of, in the open road.* Here they remained all night.

As soon as it was day they put themselves in order,

and marched in silence against the enemy; and there being a mist, came close to them before they were perceived. When they saw one another, the trumpet sounded, and the Greeks shouting, made their attack. However, the Kurds did not stand to receive them, but quitted the road, very few of them being killed in the flight: for they were prepared for expedition. Cheirisophus and his men hearing the trumpet immediately marched up the passage which lay before them. The rest of the generals took bye-paths, each of them where he happened to be, and, climbing as well as they could, drew up one another with their pikes; and these were the first who joined the detachment that had gained the post. Xenophon, with one half of the rear-guard, marched up the same way those went who had the guide, this road being the most convenient for the sumpter-horses; the other half he ordered to come up behind the baggage. In their march they came to a hill that commanded the road (this is to be understood as between Bárávân and the fort at the entrance of the pass, only to the right;) and was possessed by the enemy, whom they were either to dislodge, or to be severed from the rest of the Greeks. The men, indeed, might have gone the same way the rest took, but the sumpter-horses could go no other. Encouraging therefore one another, they made their attack upon the hill in columns, not surrounding it, but leaving the enemy room to run away, if they were so disposed. But the Karduchians, seeing the Greeks marching up the hill, every one where he could, without discharging either their arrows or their darts upon those who approached the road, fled, and quitted the place. The Greeks having marched by this hill, saw another before them also possessed by the enemy. This they resolved to attack likewise; but Xenophon, considering that if he left the hill they had already taken without a guard, the enemy might repossess it, and from thence annoy the sumpter-horses as they passed by them, (for the way being narrow, there was a

long file of them,) he therefore left upon the hill two captains; while he with the rest marched to the second hill, and took that also in the same manner. There yet remained a third, by much the steepest. This was the eminence that commanded the post when the guard was surprised at the fire, the night before, by the detachment.

When the Greeks approached the hill, the Kurds quitted it without striking a stroke, and hastened away, with a design to fall upon the rear. Xenophon, with the youngest of his men, ascended to the top of the hill, and ordered the rest to march slowly after, that the two captains who were left behind might join them; and that when they were altogether, they should choose some even place on the road, and then stand to their arms. He had no sooner given orders to this effect, than an Argive came flying from the enemy, and brought an account that they were driven from the first hill, and that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates, the two captains left behind, and all the rest, who had not leaped from the rock and joined the rear, were slain. The Kurds, after this advantage, came to the hill opposite to that where Xenophon stood; and Xenophon treated with them, by an interpreter, concerning a truce, and demanded the dead. They consented to deliver them provided they did not burn their villages. Xenophon agreed to this. While the other part of the army approached, and these were employed in treating, all the men moved from the post they were in towards the place of treaty; upon this the enemy made a stand, and when the Greeks began to descend from the top of the hill, which Xenophon had quitted, they rolled down stones, and broke the leg of one of the Greeks. Xenophon's armour-bearer deserted him, in the hurry, taking away his shield; but Eurylochus of Lusia, an Arcadian, and one of the heavy-armed men, ran to his relief, and covered both himself and Xenophon with his shield, while the rest joined those who stood ready drawn up.

The tardy rear and baggage-horses having thus got up at length, and the Greeks being all together, they quartered there, in many fine houses, where they found provisions in abundance; for there was so great a plenty of wine, that they kept it in plastered cisterns. The distance marched after gaining the eminence that commanded the pass is not noticed, but it could not have been much, for Xenophon and Cheirisophus prevailed upon the Kurds to deliver up their dead in exchange for the guide, and these, as far as they were able, they buried with all the honours that were due to the memory of brave men. At the same time, it could not be close to the scene of combat, for no notice is taken of any village at or near the eminence when first approached; and it is to be remarked, that Xenophon, in his return to bring up the rear, only details at length three separate conflicts, on as many distinct eminences, which occurred on the same road that had already been encompassed by the detachment with the guide the night previously, nor is it likely that a village would have existed immediately over the precipice. It is remarkable that a large and goodly Kurd village exists, in the present day, however, upon the side of the precipice, on the opposite banks of the river. Half a mile beyond this is another large and goodly Kurd village, in a beautiful wooded ravine, on the banks of the river. On emerging from the hills on the left bank (that followed by the Greeks) there are at the present day no villages close to the river, but there are several in the interior, and a little further on, the ruins of a large village, and of a khan, built of stone. Chelék, with its tall Kurdish castle, adorns the banks of the river still farther on.

Supposing, as indeed there can be little doubt was the case, the Greeks to have arrived after the disasters of the pass of Kónákti, on the height between Finduk and Kúwárro, from whence they would look down upon the bed of the Tigris, just issuing from its rocky pass to wash the eastern foot of the lofty Vihán Tagh, the distance

marched by the army, to the fort and rivulet at the entrance of this pass, was about three miles. The valley of the Tigris is here separated from the interior by a long range of naked limestone-rocks, not vertical, but still constituting eminences difficult of access. The detachment sent overnight to gain possession of the eminence, started from the heights at which the army was encamped, or from near Fínduḳ, behind or eastward of these rocky eminences, and Xenophon followed in the same line the ensuing day with the baggage and rear, on which occasion occurred the conflicts on three different hills, previously to gaining the pass. If the Greeks got beyond the pass, as there is every reason to suppose they did, on this last occasion, the total distance performed would have been equal to eight geographical miles, leaving ten geographical miles for the next day's march to the Centrites. The Kurd houses in the better class of villages, and especially in districts where wood abounds, as shewn in the two villages situated on the right bank in this pass, are constructed of two stories, generally tiled, with open balconies in front, and have a very inviting appearance. The plastered cisterns noticed by Xenophon are also met with throughout Kurdistan, Armenia, and Syria. They are especially numerous around some of the ancient villages of the early Christians of those countries, as more especially between Someïsáṭ and Bireh-jiḳ, and have frequently been a subject of discussion as to their former use. This notice of Xenophon's serves to clear up many doubts upon the subject, although, since the Kurds have become Mohammedans, and rejected the use of wine, there is no doubt they are sometimes used for depots for corn or hay, and even sometimes for water. They were generally closed by a single large stone.

There is a ferry on the Tigris at the Kurd village of Cheléḳ, and travellers coming from Betlís and Se'rt, and proceeding to Jezíreh and the countries beyond, always cross the river at this ferry, in order to avoid the

pass, which offered to the Greeks obstacles which could only have been overcome by undaunted courage and perseverance. There is a comparatively easy road by proceeding in the interior from the right bank all the way to Jezíreh, or to beyond the Kurdistan passes.

The next day the Greeks marched without a guide, and the enemy, both by fighting with them, and seizing all the passes, endeavoured to hinder them from advancing. Whenever therefore they opposed the vanguard, Xenophon, ascending the mountains from behind, endeavoured to gain some post that commanded the enemy, and by this means opened a passage for those who were in the van: and when they attacked the rear, Cheirisophus ascended the hills, and endeavouring also to get above the enemy, removed the obstruction they gave to the march of the rear. Thus they were very attentive to relieve one another. Sometimes also the Kurds, after the Greeks had ascended the eminences, gave them great disturbance in their descent, for they were very nimble; and though they came near to the Greeks, yet still they got off, having no other arms but bows and slings. They were very skilful archers; their bows were near three cubits in length, and their arrows above two. When they discharged their arrows, they drew the string by pressing upon the lower part of the bow with their left foot. These arrows pierced through the shields and corslets of the Greeks, who taking them up, made use of them instead of darts, by fixing thongs to them. In these passes the Cretans were of great service: they were commanded by Stratocles, a Cretan.

This day they arrived at villages which were situated above the plain that extends to the river Centrites, which is two hundred feet broad, and the boundary between Armenia and the country of the Karduchians. The river is about six or seven stadia, not quite a mile from the Karduchian mountains. Here the Greeks rested themselves.

The road beyond Chelék, which is the residence of a Kurd bey or prince, is carried along the river-side, and is in itself tolerably easy and feasible, but it soon enters another pass commanded on both sides by overhanging heights, which Xenophon describes himself and Cheirisophus as alternately taking possession of, to allow the soldiers to pass below unmolested. This is a very picturesque pass of the Tigris; the cliffs are mostly wooded, or sometimes rise up in lofty pinnacles like gothic ornaments, and the current of the stream is wide, calm, and tranquil.

The army did not encamp on the plain of the Centrites, but, as is described by Xenophon, above the plain; and there are in the present day villages both on the plain, and in the adjacent cultivated lands, and the mountains come down, as is described by our historian, to within about a mile of the river, which however they approach at the distance of about two and a half miles from its junction with the Tigris, hemming its stream in a pass, and prolonging themselves on the opposite side toward the Tigris, so as to enclose the junction of the two rivers in a kind of basin. At the point of union is the ancient Armenian village of Til, celebrated in history as favoured by Tigranes, and the burial-place of several of the early Armenian pontiffs.

There can be no question as to the identity of the Centrites of Xenophon with the Buhtán-chaï of the present day. The distances as given in the foregoing narrative leaves no doubt on the matter, and the width given answers to that of the Buhtán-chaï, and distinguishes it from the Tigris. It, at the present day, constitutes a kind of natural barrier between Kurdistan and Armenia, and it is the only river of the size mentioned that occurs upon this line of march. Much confusion existed in modern geography concerning the name of this river, its relation to the town of Se'rt, and to the river of Betlís and of Zákhú. I ascertained satisfactorily, on the occasion of my visit to

these countries, that the Buhtán-chaï rises from the mountainous districts of Buhtán, a province of Kurdistan and in the country of the Shirwán Kurds, to the north-east of Se'rt, past which town it flows to the east about three miles, and from which it is separated by highlands and hilly country; while the river of Betlís flows to the west of Se'rt, where it is joined by the Kharzen-sú, the Arsanius of antiquity [1].

[1] The slow progress of discovery in regard to the existing relations of the rivers Khábúr, Betlís, and Kharzen, and the errors which have been entertained with regard to them, form a curious chapter in the history of geography. Delisle made the Centrites run eastward, and fall into the lake of Ván. Forster ventured to turn it westward, because, as he says, he took it to be a branch of the Lycus or Zab. Bell, in his *System of Geography*, Vol. IV. p. 159, identifies the Khábúr with the Centrites. He describes this river (the Khábúr) as 'composed of two streams which flow through Betlís, the one from the Hatarash mountains four miles N., the other from the W. of Betlís. It runs S.S.W. to Se'rt, and passes the plain two miles to the south of that place. It runs thence S.E., till it meets the Hazir-sú. The combined stream, after forming an island, on which is situated the town of Zákhú, meets the Tigris fifteen miles below.' Monteith, after Kinneir, propagated the error of the Khábúr being the same river as that of Se'rt, and Rennel further identified it with the river of 'Amádíyah. In a journey made from Músul to Jezírch in the year 1837, I ascertained three points; 1st, that the Khábúr was not the river of 'Amádíyah, which was a tributary to the Zab. 2dly, That the Hazír-su flowed into the Khâbúr below Zákhú, and 3dly, that the conjoined river was called Périshábúr. Mr. Rich had before this ascertained, from information derived from the natives, that the river of Betlís had no connexion with the Khábúr. Colonel Shiel first determined the next fact, viz. that the Buhtán-chaï was not the same as the river of Betlís, but he did not determine that it was not the same as the Khábúr. In 1841 Dr. Grant published as a discovery, that the Hakárí and Zab rivers were the same, but I do not know of any work or map in which the reverse is indicated; and Colonel Sheil further granted to the Doctor the discovery that the Betlís-sú was not the same as the Khábúr, although it is impossible to conceive how the Colonel could have passed the Buhtán-chaï after leaving Se'rt, and gained the Khábúr at Zákhú, after travelling along Tigris by Chelék and Jezireh, without feeling that he left both the rivers of Betlís and of Buhtán behind him.

The same year I had traced the Buhtán-chaï from its junction with the Tigris at Til, to where it flows through a deep valley (not a plain), three miles east of Se'rt, and had seen the two rivulets of Betlís, described by Bell after Kinnier; after being joined by the Bákíyah-sú, a goodly stream, flow into the plain of Se'rt, to the

As soon as it was day, the Greeks perceived a body of horse on the other side of the river, ready to oppose their passage; and behind these a body of foot. These were Armenians, Mygdonians, and Chaldeans. The Mygdonians were possibly from the valley of the Belicha; and it is a remarkable thing, that there are in the present day two districts of Chaldeans, Milán and Bátán, in the same immediate neighbourhood as that in which the Greeks now found them. Xenophon describes them as a free people, and warlike; their arms were long shields and spears.

The only road the Greeks could discover led upwards, and seemed to have been made by art. They tried to pass the river over against this road, but found the water too deep, and they retired and encamped on the banks of the river. From thence they discovered that a great number of armed Kurds occupied the place of their encampment the previous night, and they were much disheartened to find themselves thus assaulted in the rear, and opposed in front; but Xenophon had a dream which gave them hopes, and the next morning two young men

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the west of that town, to constitute with other streams the Kharzen-sú, the ancient Arsanius, or Arsanias.

The year before this, Mr. Consul Brant had, in travelling from Músh to Arghana, effected the important labour of distinguishing from one another the various affluents from 'Ali Tágh or Niphates, to the Tigris *westward* of the Buhtán-chaï, and of the river of Betlís, and in the order of their succession from east to west, and including the rivers traced by ourselves, Buhtän-chaï, Bákíyah-sú, Betlís-sú, Kolb-sú, Yák-sú, Sárum-sú, the four last being tributaries to the Kharzen-sú. The I'líjeh-sú, or Khazeró-su of Viscount Pollington (outlet unknown), the Anbár-sú, (pronounced Ambéir), and the Zibeneh-sú.

We have then between the basin of the Zab, and of the upper Tigris, four different hydrographical basins. 1st, that of the Périshábúr, formed by the Khábúr and Hazír-sú; 2dly, that of the Buhtán-chaï, or Centrites; 3dly, that of the Kharzen-sú, or Arsanius, formed by the Bákíyah-sú, the Betlís-chaï, the Kolb-sú, the Yák-sú, the Sárum-sú, and most probably the Khazeró-su; and 4thly, the basin of the Anbár-su, and the Zibeneh, the river of Meïfarikin, the ancient Martyropolis, and corresponding probably with the Nymphius of the Romans.

came to him, and said that they had during the night found a place where the river was fordable. It was arranged that Cheirisophus should pass over with one half of the army first, then the baggage, and that Xenophon with the other half should protect the passage. They had about four stadia to go before they came to the ford. Although the distance is not given of the march made from the first encampment upon the hills above the Centrites, to the second, on its banks, still the description is so detailed, as to leave little doubt that it was at or near the point where the river is first hemmed in between the hills; below this, it flows through an alluvial plain, and is nowhere fordable, but it is so in several places above the hills. They also constituted the eminence which the enemy are said to have occupied on the opposite side. This point is now called Jánimíniyah. About four miles beyond this, there are in the present day the ruins of an ancient bridge, of which three pointed stone arches remain. Here was a road leading to the town and castle of Redwán.

After a sacrifice, in which the blood of the victims was poured into the river, Cheirisophus with his men went into the river; and Xenophon, taking those of the rear-guard who were best prepared for expedition, marched back to the passage opposite to the road that led to the Armenian mountains (Jánimíniyah), making a feint as if his design was to pass the river in that place, and intercept the horse that were marching along the bank of it. The enemy seeing Cheirisophus with his men passing the river with great ease, and Xenophon with his forces marching back in all haste, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with precipitation to the road that led from the river up into the country. Having gained that road they continued their march up the mountains. There is something in this description, and in the account previously given of an only road leading upwards, that seemed made by art, which rather appears to belong to

another part of the Buhhtán-chaï, than to near Jánimi-níyah. There is a narrower and more rocky pass, difficult of access, about eight miles north of this, and about six or seven miles beyond that pass, the river being still hemmed in among hills, that rise some eight or nine hundred feet above the stream, but the valley being somewhat wide; there is an artificial causeway carried up the face of the rock (limestone), partly by steps cut out of the rock itself, and partly by a causeway carried circuitously up the hill-side, and paved with large blocks of stone. This constitutes in the present day the only approach to Se'rt, and may be of remote antiquity. There are, however, other circumstances, as the distance of the river (six or seven stadia) from the Karduchian mountains, at the point where they approached it first, and the plain into which the Kurds are described as descending into to attack the rear of the army at the ford, which militate against this being the position of the pass.

When Cheirisophus had passed the river with his forces, he did not pursue the horse, but marched along the bank against the other body of the enemy, that was posted upon the upper ground, and who retreated hastily from their position. The Kurds having descended into the plain as if to attack the rear, Xenophon returned, the baggage being still passing. He drew up his men against the Kurds, who were coming on singing, and Cheirisophus seeing all secure on his side, sent the targeteers, slingers, and archers, to his assistance, but Xenophon sent them orders to halt on the banks of the river, and only when they saw him begin to pass it with his men, to come forward in the water on each side, as if they designed to pass over, but not to advance far into the river. In the meantime the Kurds continuing to advance, the Greeks sung the Pæan, and ran forward to attack them, when they retreated in every direction, the trumpets sounding, increasing their dismay, while the Greeks facing about, crossed the river; only some of the men, carried

away by their ardour, advanced across the river against what few Kurds had returned on the offensive, and were thus wounded after the rear-guard was over the river.

The army having passed the river about noon, drew up in their ranks, and in this manner marched at once over the plain of Armenia, intermixed with hills of easy ascent, making no less than fifteen miles, for there were no villages near the river, by reason of the continual wars with the Kurds. However, they at last came to a large village, that had a palace in it belonging to the satrap, and upon most of the houses there were turrets: here they found provisions in abundance. This spot, by the distance given, would correspond with the position of the present Se'rt, or, if their course was more westerly, to a position on the Kharzen-sú.

From this place they made in two days' march thirty miles, till they were advanced above the head of the Tigris. Had the Greeks marched by the great road from Se'rt to Betlís, the distance here given would take them to the difficult pass called the Dereh-i-Ṭásúl, when they would leave behind them the minor tributaries to the Kharzen-sú, but only to arrive, after another ascent and descent, at the river of Bákíyeh, the greatest of the easterly tributaries to that river. So that Xenophon could hardly be expected to have made the mistake regarding his passing the sources of the Tigris, besides that the distance given of forty-five miles from his passing the head-waters of the Tigris to the river Teleboas, much exceeds the distance of the Dereh-i-Ṭásúl from the Bákíyeh river. Lastly, the Teleboas was a small river, with many villages on its banks, the Bákíyeh is not large, but is still so goodly a stream, that the historian would not have gone out of his way to describe it as small, nor is it a district in which many villages probably ever existed. All these circumstances taken in consideration leave no doubt that the Greeks ascended directly towards the great chain of the 'Alí Ṭágh, the ancient

Niphates, in a direction nearly north; by which proceeding, a journey of thirty miles would have carried them beyond the head-waters of the tributaries to the Tigris, in those districts, and another forty-five miles would have brought them into the valley of the Kárá-sú, recognized by many as the Teleboas of our author, and situate in the district of Moxoene, the present Músh,—apparently from the most remote times the seat of numerous towns and villages, and having a large population. That this is the only version that can be given to this portion of the narrative, is further corroborated by the fact, that from the Teleboas they proceeded through a plain which would not apply itself to the river Bákíyeh, which is enclosed in deep and wooded mountain valleys[1].

The river Teleboas though not large was beautiful, and had many fine villages on its banks. This country was called the western part of Armenia. The governor of it was Teribazus, who had behaved himself with great fidelity to the king, and when he was present no other lifted the king on horseback. This chieftain came to the Greeks with a body of horse, and sending his interpreter, acquainted them that he desired to speak with their commanders. Upon this the generals advanced within hearing, and an alliance was entered into, that he should not do any injury to the Greeks if they would not burn the houses, and that they should have liberty to take what provisions they wanted.

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[1] Bell (*System of Geog.* Vol. IV. p. 140) identifies the Teleboas with the river of Músh, called 'Ak-sú by the Turks, the Arsanius of Plutarch, and Arsenius of Procopius. The 'Ak-su, or white river, is truly the river of Músh, but it is only a small tributary to the Kárá-sú (Black water), which is the great river of the plain and district. As to the Arsanias, we learn from Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, that it lay between Tigrano-Certa (Diyárbekr) and Artaxata, and therefore the same as the river of Arzanene, now Kharzen-sú. Tacitus also describes this as its situation, which the analogy of name further corroborates. The town of Khazero was called by Pliny, Oppidum Arzaniorum, or the town of the Arzanii, now called Kharzen Kurds.

From thence they advanced through a plain, and in three days' march made forty-five miles; Teribazus following them with his forces at the distance of about a mile, when they came to a palace surrounded by many villages, abounding in all sorts of provisions. The direction followed by the Greeks, after reaching the plain of Moxoene, must be chiefly judged of by the time it took them to arrive at the Euphrates, which they are described as passing over not far from its sources. Had the Greeks pursued a northerly course, they would have arrived at the Euphrates in less than a day's march, but at that point it would not have been fordable; and it appears to be for this reason that they followed a north-easterly course up the plain of Músh, and towards the sites of Perák, or Lís, north of lake Názuk, and in which fertile district appears to have existed the palace and villages described by Xenophon. This is upon the elevated table-land of Armenia; the plain of Músh being, at an average elevation, from my own observation, of four thousand two hundred feet above the sea, and yet eighteen hundred feet below that of Erż-Rúm, between which two places, or the vale of the western Euphrates and the vale of the Murád-sú, or eastern Euphrates, comprising the country which contains the sources of the 'Arás or Araxes, the generality of valleys and uplands preserve a still greater altitude, seldom less than five thousand five hundred feet in elevation, and increasing towards the head-waters of the Murád-sú—the Euphrates of Xenophon.

While they lay encamped at this elevated station, there fell so great a snow in the night, that it was resolved the next morning to remove into the villages. This great cold of the Armenian uplands has been the subject of much controversy, and Tournefort, the celebrated botanist, was so much struck with it as to suppose it was owing to so unnatural a cause as the impregnation of the soil with sal ammoniac. The knowledge which we now possess, of the comparative elevation of these uplands renders all

such far-fetched hypotheses quite needless. Positive elevation, in which the immediate results of a lower temperature are increased by exposure, and long continuity of high and elevated tracts of land, are the simple causes of this certainly very striking phenomenon. I left the plains of Mesopotamia in the latter end of August 1839, when the mid-day heats were almost insupportable, and till we had crossed the 'Alí Ṭágh we slept always in the open air, on the grass, or on the tops of houses, but on the plain of Músh were glad to seek refuge by a fire, and on the road from thence to Erż-Rúm, in the early part of September, it froze keenly every night, although the mid-day sun was still powerful.

The Greeks found plenty of provisions in these villages, more especially cattle, corn, exceedingly fragrant old wine, raisins, and many kinds of vegetables. But news having arrived of the enemy being in the neighbourhood, the troops were collected from the villages and obliged to sleep abroad. It snowed all night, and men and horses suffered much from cold. Xenophon himself was obliged to set the example, of rising to cut fire-wood, when many fires were lit, and the soldiers anointed themselves with many sorts of ointments, which they had found in the villages. After this the troops were allowed to return to the villages. A Greek captain, who had been sent out to reconnoitre, returned with a prisoner, a Persian, who said that it was the intention of Teribazus, who, besides his own army, had mercenary troops of Chalybians and Taochians, to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountains, as they marched through the defile, which was their only road.

The generals hearing this, adopted, under the circumstances, when the troops were suffering from cold and snow, a plan remarkable for boldness and decision. They started for the mountains, where Teribazus was in order to attack and disperse his troops, only leaving a guard in the camp, under Sophænetus of Stymphalus. To

the mountains herein noticed I cannot assign an exact geographical position, for I labour under the disadvantage of not having personally explored the country now in question, having crossed Armenia by a more westerly route, and by what I thought at the time, with many others, was the route followed by the Greeks; but have in this been led to alter my opinion, by subsequent study, and a careful examination of the narrative in all its bearings. The district in question has not either been well examined by any modern traveller, but it is known, like the other parts of the Armenian highlands, to be composed of fertile vales, elevated uplands, and surrounding hills and mountains. The loftiest peak after mount Ararat (Aghrí Ṭágh) in Armenia, Seïbán Ṭágh, is in this very district[1].

The Armeno-Persian force did not wait the attack of the Greeks, but fled; some of them were, however, killed, twenty horses were taken, as also the tent of Teribazus, in which they found beds with silver feet, and drinking-cups; and they returned afterwards to the camp the same day.

The next day they resolved to march away with all the haste they could, before the enemy should rally their forces, and possess themselves of the pass. Their baggage therefore being presently ready, they set forward through a deep snow, with many guides; and having the same day passed the eminence upon which Teribazus designed to attack them, they encamped. The distance of this day's march is not given, and therefore it is probable that they only encompassed the pass, which may not have exceeded five or six miles. From thence they made three marches

[1] The name of this mountain which, rises to from nine thousand five hundred to ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, was given to Mr. Consul Brant, as the Holy Mountain, and hence he calls it Sapán or Surpán Ṭágh. Mr. Renouard, however, did not find this name among the Armenian writers, and thinks that the name Sapán (a plough-handle), is probably a corruption of Síbán (apples), or Seïban (streams). The *Jehán Numá* has Seïban Ṭágh, 'mount of streams.' p. 413.

through a desert, and came to the Euphrates, which they passed, the water coming up to the navel. It was said the sources of this river were not far off. The point where the Greeks crossed the Murád-sú, or easterly branch of Euphrates, would, by the distances given, have been at or near the present town of Melaz-ghird[1], and above the junction of the river of Khanús, or Bíngöl-sú, below which junction the river would not have been fordable.

Having crossed the Euphrates at the first feasible point[2], the Greeks, it appears, resumed a more westerly course, and made, in three days' march, forty-five miles, over a plain covered with deep snow, and then another day also in the snow, when they came to villages, near to which, or about three miles distance, was the palace of the satrap. This corresponds perfectly with the position of

[1] 'Geographers,' says Bell, (*System of Geography*, Vol. IV. p. 152) 'are at issue whether Malasgherd be on the north or south side of the Euphrates. Rennell places it on the north-west side of the mountain-range which bounds the lake of Ván, and north-west of Arjísh. (*Jehán Numá*; p. 412). But Kinneir, who crossed the Euphrates in his route from Khanús to the north-west extremity of the Ván lake, has confuted the maps of Delisle and Rennell in this part of Armenia; for had it been in the position assigned in their maps, Kinneir must have passed it, or very near it, when he struck the north-west angle of the lake.' Bell therefore adopts as the site of Malasgherd the right bank of the Murád-su, above where it is joined by the river of Khanús; and it is above this junction that the Greeks must have gone to have forded the river. Mr. Consul Brant's, nor my own researches, did not, unfortunately, extend to this point, but they satisfied me that the Murád-sú is not fordable on the plain of Músh, nor above where it is joined by the Chár Buhúr-sú.

[2] Forster (in *Geo. Diss.* p. 229) makes the Greeks pass the Euphrates after the junction of the Murád-sú and Kárá-sú, or of the eastern and western, Euphrates; where the river is extremely deep and rapid, and it is never fordable within Taurus or Anti-Taurus, although it becomes so in some few spots on the plains below, at certain seasons of the year. This view of the subject has involved him in a lengthened discussion concerning the longitudes of Trebizond and Erá-Rúm, which is quite unnecessary; and he argues, that had the Greeks passed two rivers of the same name, Xenophon would certainly have taken notice of it. But by crossing the Murád-sú, even in the parallel of Músh, and continuing to the north, the first tributaries to the 'Arás would be passed, and not the Kárá-sú, or western Euphrates; and he would no more have to pass the two branches of the Euphrates than had he passed them at a point below their union.

Khanús Kal'eh-sí[3], in the Khanús district. This wild castle, in the midst of the Armenian uplands, is situated upon the Kal'eh-sú, a branch of the Bíngöl-sú, the tributary to the Murád-sú before noticed, and about three miles from the nearest village of 'Arúż, beyond which is the fertile portion of the district; containing in the present day eighteen Armenian villages. The separation of the castle from the villages is a remarkably distinctive fact.

During these four marches, from the Euphrates to Khanús, the Greeks suffered most severely from the snow and from cold, and the last march was a straggling and interrupted one, so that the distance marched could not have been greater than what exists, with the difficulties of the road, between Malasgherd and Khanús. The north wind parched and benumbed the men, which caused the priests to make sacrifice to it. The snow was a fathom deep, insomuch that many of the slaves and baggage-horses died, and about thirty soldiers. Many of the troops contracted from this exposure a disease, which Xenophon designates as a bulimy, characterized by excessive hunger and faintness. Cheirisophus arrived first at the villages, but the rear did not come up the same night. Xenophon had the greatest possible difficulty to bring up the stragglers; many had lost their sight by the snow, and others had lost their toes by mortification; some sat down on a spot where vapours issuing from the earth had dissolved the snow. The next day Xenophon and the rear came up to the villages, and one of his captains, hastening to the village that fell to Xenophon's lot, surprised all the inhabitants, together with their head-man of the village, in their houses. The custom of having a head to each

[3] Mr. Consul Brant wrote Khinís Kal'ehsí, I wrote it Khinís, or Khinús, in my *Travels*, and find Khunús in my notes. Mr. Renouard ascertained from the *Jehán Numá*, that it is Khonús or Khanús, and therefore only pronounced Khunús. The Rev. Mr. Southgate also writes it Khunús.

village in the East, appears thus to date from a remote antiquity.

Their houses were underground; the mouth resembling that of a well, but spacious below; there was an entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descended by ladders. In these houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls with their young. All the cattle were maintained within doors with fodder. There was also wheat, barley, and vegetables, and beer, or barley-wine in jars, in which the malt floated even with the brims of the vessel, and it was drunk or sucked up through reeds. This liquor was very strong when unmixed with water, and exceeding pleasant to those who used it. This description of a village on the Armenian uplands, applies itself to many that I visited in the present day. The descent by wells is now rare, but is still to be met with; but in exposed and elevated situations the houses are uniformly semi-subterraneous, and entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in. Whatever is the kind of cottage used, cows, sheep, goats, and fowls, participate with the family in the warmth and protection thereof; the summer is indeed occupied, in these inhospitable uplands, in laying in stores of fuel and provender for the winter, and corn and vegetables are found in them in abundance, but the barley-wine I never met with, and time has entailed a new evil, that in many places the wandering Kurds force themselves upon the sedentary Armenians, to pass their winter by their scanty fires.[1]

Xenophon exerted himself in establishing friendly relations with the head-man, and procuring him to be their guide to the next villages. The troops remained eight days in these villages, recovering from the cold, and in the midst of plenty. After this, the bailiff and

[1] Attempts are being made to do away with this abominable system, called Kishlák, or winter quartering.

one of his sons as a hostage were delivered up to Cheirisophus, and he conducted them through the snow unbound. They marched three days, when Cheirisophus grew angry with him for not carrying them to some villages. The bailiff said there were none in that part of the country. Upon this the general struck him, but did not order him to be bound, so that he made his escape in the night, leaving his son behind him. This was a cause of difference, and the only one that happened between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during the retreat. Episthenis of Amphipolis took an affection to the youth, and, carrying him into Greece, found great fidelity in him. After this, they made seven marches, at the rate of fifteen miles each day, and arrived at the river Phasis, which was about one hundred feet in breadth.

The distance here given would carry the Greeks over the mountains, to the 'Arás, north of Ararat. In applying the name of Phasis, given by the Argonauts, and after them by Strabo, Pliny, Pomponius, and many other authorities, to the Colchian river now called Rhion, to the Araxes: Xenophon appears to have followed a tradition of times earlier than the imagined discovery of the Phison or Phasis as a tributary to the Euxine, and to have identified the 'Arás with the Phison of Scriptures, which sprang from the same locality as the Euphrates, the Hiddekel (Tigris), and the Gihon. Rennell, Delisle, and others, have advocated this identity. It has been advanced against this view of the subject, that it was unlikely to suppose that the Greeks came to the Araxes, after they had passed the Euphrates, because these two rivers arise out of the same mountain, (the Abus of Strabo and Pliny, Bíngöl Tágh of actual geography,) and that after they had passed the Euphrates and travelled northward four days, they must have left the Araxes so far behind them, that it is very unlikely they could ever come back to it (*Geo. Dissertation*, by Forster). This argument arises from a difference of

opinion regarding where the Greeks passed the Euphrates. Modern research has shewn that the Murád-sú is not fordable to the west of the meridian of Erż-Rúm, where Forster would carry the Greeks across it; and with respect to their after movements, the same author himself allows that the guide had misled the Greeks, in order to distress or destroy them, or it is not likely that he would have run away and left his son behind him. If the guide had led the Greeks northward after their arrival at the villages, they must, before he ran away, have reached the upper tributaries of the 'Arás, from the Bíngöl Tágh or its head-valley near Hasan-Kal'eh, in what is curiously enough still called the district and plain of Púsín, (Mr. Consul Brant, *Journ. of R. G. S.*, Vol. x. pp. 341 and 430); but the Greeks did not reach any notable river till after a journey of ten days, and they must therefore have been led across the barren uplands which extend between the 'Arás and the Murád-sú, till they at length reached the waters of the former river. The subsequent progress of the Greeks into the modern Georgia, also corroborates this view of the subject[1].

Having crossed the Phasis or 'Arás, the Greeks

[1] Delisle advocated the identity of the Phasis of Xenophon with the Araxes, upon the grounds that Constantine Porphyrogenetes says that the Phasis runs near Theodosopolis; that it parted his empire from Iberia, and was likewise called Erasch, or Aras. As Theodosopolis was the name either of Erż-Rúm, or Hasan-Kal'eh, in the time of the Lower Empire, the argument is a strong one, for the 'Arás, which flows to the eastward of Erż-Rúm, might well serve as a boundary between Iberia and the Greek Armenian possessions. Forster argues, that it was unlikely that the Greeks should come to the Araxes after they had passed the Euphrates, because these two rivers rise out of the same mountain, about six miles distant from each other; but a more accurate knowledge of the various sources of the Euphrates clears up the apparent difficulty. Dionysius and Strabo both place the sources of the Phasis in Armenia; they could scarcely by this mean the Colchian Phasis. Yet it was only on this supposed remote origin of the Phasis of the Colchians, and of the Argonautic expedition, that the learned Reland was led to identify it with the Phison of Scriptures.

would have had before them the redoubtable mountain-chain called the Kapán Ṭágh, the Coraxii of Pliny, and which they reached in two marches, making thirty geographical miles, when they found a mixed army of Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians, posted upon the passage which led over the chain. As soon as Cheirisophus saw the enemy in possession of this post, he halted at the distance of about three miles, wishing to bring up the army in a line. Upon this occasion, Cheirisophus and Xenophon had some little discussion, which was not characterized by the good feeling that had hitherto attended their councils. As soon as night came on, a body of Greeks marched away, and made themselves masters of the mountains which commanded the pass, and the enemy, finding that they were so surroundod, remained under arms, and made fires all night. At break of day, Cheirisophus led his forces up the road, while those who had gained the summit attacked the enemy on their side, and they soon gave way, great numbers being slain. As soon as the Greeks gained the ascent they offered sacrifice, and having erected a trophy, marched down into the plain, where they found villages well stored with all sorts of provisions.

From these villages beyond the pass of the Kapán Ṭágh, the Greeks advanced into the country of the Taochians, the name of which is still preserved, according to Delisle, by that of Taochir, a district of Georgia. This country occupied that part of Georgia, which extends between the 'Arás and the Kúr or Cyrus, and through which the Greeks travelled five days, making ninety geographic miles, and suffering many privations, for their provisions began to fail them; the Taochians inhabiting mountains and fortresses, into which they had conveyed all their provisions, and whence they may indeed have derived their name, Ṭáók in Turkish, the original language of the Georgians and Tatars of the Kúr, signifying a fowl or bird—the inhabitants living like the fowls of the air.

At the end of the five marches they arrived at a strong place, which had neither city nor houses upon it, but where great numbers of men and women, with their cattle, were assembled. This place Cheirisophus ordered to be attacked the moment he came before it, but there was only one point of access to this place, and the Taochians threw down such quantities of stones, that the Greeks could not at first force the approach; but certain of the captains, rivalling one another in exposing themselves so that the Taochians might expend their ammunition, at length gained the ascent; when a dreadful scene ensued, for the women first threw their children down the precipice, and then themselves. One of the Greeks, in endeavouring to save a native from self-destruction, was drawn after him, and both were dashed to pieces. Thus few prisoners were made, but a considerable quantity of oxen, asses, and sheep, were taken. Cases of the description here alluded to are not so uncommon among the mountaineers as might be imagined; there are many on record, and one occurred only a few years back in Kurdish Luristán, whither Colonel Shee had gone with a Persian force to reduce a revolted tribe[1].

There is much in the description of the fort of the Taochians which coincides with what is related by travellers of the remarkable fort or stronghold called Tzalka by the Russians; although its Turk or Tatar name does not appear to have been satisfactorily recorded, only that in the time of Xenophon there appear to have been no fixed habitations nor artificial defences erected. This is now a well-known place about fifty miles from Tiflis, and would occupy the position to which the distances given would carry the Greeks northwards. It is probable that Taochir of Delisle, and Tahoskari of D'Anville, are names

[1] This occurred at one of the forts of Göli Guláb, eighteen miles south of Behbehán, and said to be not inferior in strength to the renowned Kal'eh Sefíd, or white castle, in the same neighbourhood.

applying to the same place; and there seems to be an evident connexion between the synonymes of Taochir Tahoskari and the Tsalka of the maps, or Tzarskies Kolodzi, as it is called in Struve's astronomical positions in *Journal of Roy. Geo. Society*, Vol. VIII. Part iii.

How the Greeks, after advancing ninety miles into Georgia, were led to change their direction, and return the same distance, and that quantity added to it, which would make the difference between where they entered the country from the 'Arás, and issued from it by the 'Arpá-chaï, or in all one hundred and fifty miles through the country of the Chalybians, does not appear, but it is connected with the capture of this fort of the Taochians, towards which they may have moved out of their way, in search of the positive necessaries of life, or it was at it that they obtained information calculated to mislead them, with regard to the direct road to the sea. Be this as it may, it is the only practical way of viewing the subject, for the distance travelled from the Phasis to the fort of the Taochians, and the distance travelled after that from the fort to the Harpasus, will admit of scarcely any other interpretation.

From the stronghold of the Taochians, the Greeks advanced through the country of the Chalybians, and in seven marches made one hundred and fifty miles. These being the most valiant people they met with in all their marches, they came to a close engagement with the Greeks. They had linen corslets that reached below their navel, and instead of tassels thick cords twisted. They had also greaves and helmets, and at their girdle a short falchion, like those of the Lacedæmonians, with which they cut the throats of those they overpowered, and afterwards cutting off their heads, carried them away in triumph. It was their custom to sing and dance whenever they thought the enemy saw them. They had pikes fifteen cubits in length, with only one point. They stayed in their cities till the Greeks marched past them, and then

followed, harassing them perpetually. After that they retired to their strong holds, into which they had conveyed their provisions: so that the Greeks could supply themselves with nothing out of their country, but lived upon the cattle they had taken from the Taochians.

The Chalybians were a nation extensively distributed in the mountainous regions of Armenia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia. Xenophon describes them here as occupying that part of Georgia which is immediately east of the Harpasus, and he afterwards notices a few of the same nation as living subject to the Mosynæcians, and subsisting by the manufacture of iron. Apollonius notices the Chalybes as beyond the river Thermodon, after the Amazons, and after them the Tibareni, in which he is followed by Avienus Rufus Festus. Valerius Flaccus places them on the Thermodon, but Xenophon between the Mosynæcians and Tibareni, which latter occupied the district of Cotyora. Herodotus placed some of the same nation in Paphlagonia, and Pomponius Mela described them as the original inhabitants of Sinope and Amisus. Mr. W. J. Hamilton has shewn that the iron in which they trafficked occurs in the mountains immediately south of 'Uníych Kal'ch, where the natives are to the present day occupied in its extraction by scraping it out of the soil. This serves then to give an idea as to where in Xenophon's time the Mosynæcians were succeeded by the Tibareni. Strabo identifies the Chalybes with the Chaldæans [1], and this has been followed by many modern authorities.

The leading fact to be noticed in this portion of the narrative, is that the Greeks must necessarily have crossed the Harpasus low down in its course, from the account given of its width, and also from the east to the west; for crossing it, they came in the country of the Scythians or Scythinians, and when ultimately gaining the city of

[1] Pliny distinguishes the Armenian Chalybians from the Pontic, by the epithet of Armeno-Chalybes.

Gymnias, they were drawn from out of their perplexed and strange wanderings, by the hostility of the native chieftains, to the next tribes; they came, after a journey of six days directly towards the sea, to a river which separated the country of the Scythians from that of the Macrones. Hence the country of the Scythians was westward of that of the Chalybians, and westward of the Harpasus, as it extended to the country of the Macronians, which was followed by that of the Colchians, which latter commenced at fifty miles from the sea, and extended to within twenty-one miles of it[2].

The distance given of sixty geographic miles from the lower part of the 'Arpá-chaï to the villages, would have led the Greeks to the village at the head-waters of the river of Ḳárs, a tributary to the 'Arpá-cháï, and from thence they would have had to pass the Sóghánlí Ṭágh, to reach the city of Gymnias.

From the villages at the head of the river of Ḳárs, passing by the route over the Sóghánlí Ṭágh, the Greeks

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[2] 'It is strange,' says Bell in his (*System of Geography*, Vol. IV. p. 143) 'to see Kinneir in his map confounding the Harpasus with the river of Ḳárs, and making the Greeks cross it to the W. of Ḳárs, where the stream is but small, which by no means corresponds with Xenophon's account of its breadth. The Harpasus is composed of three branches, the river of Ḳárs, from the west, the Pálákát-chaï from the lake of Bálákiz to the N.W., and the 'Arpa-chaï, or main branch coming from the range which separates the tributaries of the Ḳárs on the north, from those of the Araxes. The two latter join some distance below the ruined fortress of Anni, and the junction of the combined streams with the river of Ḳárs is fifteen miles above the confluence with the Araxes: it must have been below the junction of the river of Ḳárs and the 'Arpa-chaï, that the ten thousand Greeks passed, and not, as Rennell says, at or near the place where stands the ruins of Anni, where the stream could not possibly be of the magnitude affirmed by Xenophon, as these ruins stand above the junction of the 'Arpá-chaï with the river from the Bálákiz lake.' Mr. Hamilton has shewn however that the river of Ḳárs falls into the Arpá-chaï about fifteen miles N. of Anni. This traveller had considerable difficulty in fording the river of Ḳárs when two of the baggage-horses were carried off their legs. (Vol. I. p. 204.) In Morier's opinion the 'Arpá-chaï is the main branch of the Araxes.

travelled in four days' marches sixty miles to the city of Gymnias, which thus appears to be the same as the modern Erż-Rúm. It was designated Gymnasia by Diodorus Siculus, and although by name there appears to be a greater connexion between the Russian fort of Gumri on the upper 'Arpa-chaï, still other circumstances forbid that identification, and corroborate in a strong manner the identity of the 'citadel of the Greeks' with the Gymnias of Xenophon, and which was in that time a large and rich city, well inhabited. Martin gives the modern name of Erż-Rúm, from Arzeni er Roum, Arzen or Erzen of the Romans or Greeks, given to it to distinguish it from Arzen in Arzanene, south of the Niphates. D'Herbelot says it is a corruption or Arż-al-Rúm 'Country of the Romans.' It is obvious therefore that it must have had a previous name among the Greeks and Romans, and this appears to have been Gymnias or Gymnasia, from whence were derived the Gymnasian games, and which are mentioned by Xenophon as performed on the arrival of the Greeks at Trebizond. This is however one of the least satisfactorily determined positions throughout the whole Expedition.

The governor of Gymnias sent a person to the Greeks to conduct them through the territory of his enemies. This guide coming to the army, said he would undertake, in five days, to carry them to a place from whence they should see the sea. If not, he consented to be put to death. And when he had conducted them into the territories belonging to his enemies, he desired them to lay waste the country with fire and sword; by which it was evident that he came with this view, and not from any good-will he bore the Greeks.

The fifth day they arrived at the holy mountain called Theches. As soon as the men who were in the vanguard ascended the mountain, and saw the sea, they gave a great shout; which when Xenophon and those in the rear heard, they concluded that an enemy had at-

tacked them in front; for the people belonging to the country they had devastated, followed their rear.

The noise still increasing as they came nearer, and the men as fast they came up, running to those who still continued shouting, their cries swelled with their numbers, so that Xenophon thinking something more than ordinary had happened, mounted on horseback, and rode to their assistance, but presently he heard the soldiers calling out, Sea! Sea! and cheering one another. At this they all set a running, the rear-guard as well as the rest, and the beasts of burthen and horses were driven forward. When they were all come up to the top of the mountain, they embraced one another, and also their generals and captains, with tears in their eyes; and immediately the men, without receiving any orders, brought together a great many stones, and made a large mount, upon which they placed a great quantity of shields made of raw ox-hides, staves, and bucklers, taken from the enemy.

'Xenophon's description,' says Rennell, speaking of this scene, on the arrival of the van-guard of the army on mount Theches, when they caught the first glimpse of the sea, 'is highly pathetic. No one, we presume (and indeed hope) can read it without emotion. What a number of tender ideas must have crowded at once into their minds! The thoughts of home, wives, children, friends,—thoughts which they had scarcely ventured to indulge before that moment! In a word, it was a prospect of deliverance; like an opening view of heaven to departing souls.'

Five marches is certainly considerable to have been required to arrive at the summit of the inland chain, or that which extends between the upland vales of the Kárá-sú or Euphrates, and the vale of the Tchórúk-sú, or Apsarus. The length of these marches is not given, but that of the three subsequent marches through the country of the Macrones is given, and amounts only to thirty geographic miles. If the Greeks only marched at the

same rate from Gymnias to Thecles, or a distance of forty-eight or fifty miles, the five marches would be at once explained, for by the road I travelled there were sixty-seven miles from Erż-Rúm to the Tchórúk-sú at Baïbúrṭ, and that they were on the further or north side of the chain is shewn by the circumstance of there only remaining part of a day's journey to the river, and which then would correspond to what happened in my own experience as to the distance by the roads, although by the air-line from Erż-Rúm to Baïburt the distance does not exceed forty-five miles.

This chain is now called the Kóp Ṭágh, and is regarded by Balbi as belonging to the group of the Erż-Rúm mountains, but it assimilates itself, both by structure (see *Travels*, &c. Vol. II. p. 394 et seq.) and geographical relations, with the Chámlú Bel and Kárá Bel—the ancient Paryadres and Scydisses; of the former of which it was considered to be a continuation by the ancients. Misled by a remote, but no real connexion of names, some have sought for the monument left by the Greeks—'a monument of antiquity,' says Rennell, 'nearly as curious as the tumulus of Hector: and with those who disbelieve the story of the Iliad, much more so'—at a place called Tekíyeh 'the monastery;' others have sought for it at Kárá Kapán where there is a positive pile of stones; but Colonel Chesney assures me of his being acquainted with the position of the actual monument under circumstances, the geographical relation of which are, I believe, similar to what are contained in this explanation.

The same evening, the guide, to whom the Greeks were profuse in their gratitude and gave numerous presents, departed; having shewn them a village where they could quarter, and the road that led to the Macronians. On the ensuing day's march they came to a river which divided the territory of the Scythians from that of the Macronians. The Greeks had on their right an eminence of very difficult access, and on their left another river,

into which the river that served for a boundary between the two nations, and which the Greeks were to pass, emptied itself. It is evident from this description that the second or large river which they had to cross was the boundary river between the two nations, but that before reaching it they had an eminence or cliff on the right, and on the left another and smaller river, and this I am inclined, consequently, not to consider as the Marsáh Dereh and Bálá-hór branches of the Tchórúḳ-sú, but as some minor branch flowing to the east of Baïbúrt from the Ḳóp Tágh into the Tchórúk-sú, which is not yet delineated in our maps, although I believe my friend Mr. Thomson, of the Persian embassy, has lately explored the valley of the ancient Apsarus.

The Greeks cut down the trees which grew on the river-banks to prepare a way for their passage, but were opposed by the Macronians, until one of their party came forward as acquainted with the language, and being himself a Macronian, although formerly a slave at Athens, and who informed his countrymen that the Greeks did not come to invade the country, but merely to seek a passage on their way to the sea. Upon this the Macrones and the Greeks exchanged spears, as a mutual pledge of faith, and they became friends.

The Macronians are said by Strabo to have been originally called Sanni. Apollonius and Avienus notice them as above the Philyres. Pliny describes them as dwelling on the river Absarus. This river, the Apsarus of Arrian, and Apsorus of Ptolemy, is admitted on all hands to be the same as the river of 'Isperá (from Apsarus) or the Tchórúk-sú; so that this fact lends strong corroborative testimony to the position of Theches, on the inland chain of the Ḳóp Ṭágh, or Paryadres, above the Apsarus, and of the position of the Greeks when on the frontiers of the country of the Macrones.

The Macronians having made peace with the Greeks, supplied them with a market in the best manner they were

able, and conducted them through their country during three days, till they brought them to the mountains of the Colchians; but part of the first day's march having been expended in reaching and effecting the passage of the river Apsarus (Tchórúḳ-su), only two marches, and part of a third, which we may average at about twenty-five miles, were occupied in reaching the mountains of the Colchians, which correspond to the maritime chain, or that of Ḳárá Ḳapán, or Ḳóhát Tágh, of some, and the Colchian range of geographers. One of these mountains was very large, but not inacessible. And upon this the Colchians stood in order of battle. By Xenophon's advice the Greeks were on this occasion (some parts of the mountain being more difficult than others) divided into companies, and drawn up in columns, and thus they marched upon the enemy, who, separating, to oppose them to the right and left, were thus divided, and soon defeated, and the Greeks having gained the ascent, they encamped in many villages, full of all sorts of provisions. The Colchians, according to Strabo and Ptolemy, occupied that part of the coast of the Euxine which extended from Trapezus to the Phasis.

In those villages it happened that there was much honey, but all the soldiers who ate of it lost their senses, and were seized with vomiting and purging, none of them being able to stand upon their legs. Those who ate but little were like men very drunk, and those who ate much like mad-men, and some like dying persons. In this condition great numbers lay upon the ground, as if there had been a defeat, and the sorrow was general. The next day none of them died, but recovered their senses about the same time they were seized; and the third and fourth day they got up as if they had taken physic.

This fact of the honey of Asia Minor being in certain places and at certain seasons of a poisonous nature, was known to all antiquity, and is very common in the present day; so much so, that I have known the peasants enquire if we would prefer the bitter or the sweet honey, for the

honey so qualified has a slightly but not unpleasant bitterness, and is preferred by many, from producing, when taken in moderate quantities, the effect of slight intoxication. Pliny notices two kinds of honey (*Nat. Hist.* xxi. c. 44. 13), one found at Heraclea in Pontus, and another amongst the Sanni, or Macrones. The first he supposed to be produced by a plant called Ægolethron, or goat's-bane, the second by a species of rhododendron. Dioscorides, Diodorus Siculus, and Aristotle, all notice the honey of Heraclea Pontica. The celebrated botanist, Tournefort, ascertained on the spot that the honey of bees feeding on the Azalea pontica, which he described as the Chamærhododendron pontica maxima, flore luteo, as also on the Rhododendron ponticum, which he describes as the Chamærhododendron pontica maxima, flore cæruleo purpurascente, possessed mischievous properties. But as the bitter and intoxicating honey is met with in many parts of Asia Minor, where these plants do not flower, it is also extremely probable that these peculiar properties are further derived from the flower of the Nerium oleander, or common rose-laurel, the leaves of which are known to be acrid and poisonous. The natural family to which the rose-laurel belongs (Apocynæ) is distinguished by plants endued with dangerous and fatal properties, and these juices act on the nerves so as to produce stupefaction. The Rhodoraceæ also possess narcotic properties, but in a less marked degree.

From the villages of the Colchians the Greeks made in two days' march twenty-one miles, and arrived at the sea at Trebizond[1] (Ṭarábuzún), a Greek city, well inhabited, and situate upon the Euxine. It was then a colony of Sinopians, but lay in the country of the Col-

[1] Rennell says of Trebizond, 'It derives its historical fame more from the circumstance of its receiving the ten thousand after their wonderful retreat, than from having been the capital of portion of the Lower Empire: since the former event fills the mind with ideas of a more lofty and magnificent kind.

chians. Here they staid about thirty days, encamping in the villages of the Colchians, and from whence they made excursions into their country, for the purpose of plunder. The inhabitants of Trebizond supplied them with a market in their camp, and received them with great hospitality, making them presents of oxen, barley-meal, and wine; they also concluded a treaty with them in favour of the neighbouring Colchians, and from these also the Greeks received more oxen, as a mark of their hospitality. After this, they prepared the sacrifice they had vowed, and they also celebrated a Gymnic game upon the mountain where they were encamped.

It only remains to add to this book, that another version of the movements of the Greeks in upper Armenia and Georgia is just possible. It is founded upon the existence, first pointed out to me by Mr. Thomson, of a site on the Euxine, and considerably to the east of the actual Trebizond, called by the natives Eskí Tarábuzún, or old Trebizond. If this was the site of Trapezus in the time of Xenophon, it is just possible, that after crossing the Harpasus, the Greeks went on to the present site of Kárs, that they returned thence and recrossed the 'Arpá-chaï (which involves a difficulty) to Gumrí (Gymnías), and that thence they went direct to the old Trebizond; the Holy Mountain being in the chain situated between the sources of the 'Arpá-chaï and the Tchórúk-sú; the rivers of the Macrones being the Apsarus and the tributary to that river which flows into it above Atvín, and the mountains of the Colchians being in the district of Lazistán.

END OF BOOK FOURTH.

BOOK FIFTH.

Origin of Greek Colonies on the Euxine. Antiquities of Trebizond. Collect Ships of Transport. Attack upon Drillians. Plunder of their City. Greeks start by land and water. Colony of Kerasunt. Ḳérasún Dereh-sú. Kerasunt (Pharnacia). Introduction of Cherries. Country of Mosynœcians. Capture of their Metropolis. Turrets of the Mosynœcians. Chalybians, grubbers of iron. Country of Tibarenians. Cotyora (Pershembah). Inhospitality of Cotyorans. Ambassadors from Sinope. Discussion as to future Road to be followed. Xenophon's project of founding a City. Defeated by the opposition of Timasion and Thorax. Their proposal to found a Colony on the Phasis. Anger of the Soldiers. Xenophon pacifies them by proposing a Trial of the Generals. Philesius and others fined. Xenophon accused, but is acquitted.

BOOK FIFTH.

THE Expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, which took place about 1250 before Christ, appears to have been the first incursion of the Hellenic Greeks into the Asiatic peninsula, after their rise into a nation. This expedition, concerning which so much is wrapt in fable, was followed by the Trojan war, an occurrence of still greater importance to the progress of historical geography. In Homer's immortal poem mention is made of a great many kings, princes, and people of various districts, especially including peninsular Asia, which tend to throw considerable light upon the condition of that country at those early periods.

The internal disturbances which took place among the Hellenic tribes, differing, as they did, in their dialects, their manners, and their political constitutions, was the cause of the foundation of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, after the Trojan war.

The coasts of the Propontis, and of the Black sea, were occupied by Greek colonies, founded in great part by the Milesians alone. The epoch of the foundation of each cannot be determined with exactitude, but we may be assured that they had their origin between the years 800 and 600 before Christ.

The colonies of the Black sea, that are referrible to these early times, are Heraclea, in the country of the Maryandini, Tium, Sinope in Paphlagonia, the most powerful of all; Amisus, Cotyora, Kerasunt, Trapezus, Dioscurias, Phasis, &c.; of which Trapezus, as well as several others, were only secondary colonies of Sinopians.

Subjected by the Persians, this city was taken from Mithridates by the Romans, and declared to be free.

Mela Pomponius records its splendour, and Eustathius speaks of it as a great emporium. The Emperor Adrian constructed there an artificial port, the remains of which are visible in the present day. In the third century it was sacked by the Goths. It became a separate kingdom under the Comneni family, who reigned there till it was yielded by David Comnenes, chiefly, it is related, at the instance of his mother, to Mohammed II. Until the edict of Suleïman the Great, against princes of the blood holding governments, the town was generally ruled by princes of the royal family; and it was from hence that in the time of Bayazid II. and in the year 1511, Selim, afterwards first sultan of that name, issued forth with the forces of the province to win an empire. The antiquities of Trebizond have been described by Kinneir, W. J. Hamilton, and others, and need not detain us long. The situation of the town is very picturesque, the time-worn ruins of Byzantine walls, with their numerous turrets and battlements peeping out above the mass of foliage which almost hides the turrets. That part of the town which is enclosed within the ancient walls is connected with the suburbs by a high and narrow bridge on each side, and is defended by strongly-fortified gateways, above which, and entirely occupying the ground between two deep rocky ravines, are the extensive remains of an old and picturesque castle, the outer walls of which are of very great height. Near to the town and on the sea-shore are the ruins of the Byzantine church of St. Sophia, now converted into a mosque.

In the deep maritime valleys which stretch inwards from the shore of the Black sea near Trebizond, a curious race of people are met with. They live in isolated and cleanly-looking cottages, perched wherever they have gained a few acres from the pristine forest, and hence seldom in villages, but their cottages are generally most picturesquely perched high up on the mountain-side, where the woods appear to be receding before them. In the

valley, and belonging to these people, are many Christian chapels of beautiful forms and proportions, but now chiefly in ruin and ivy-clad. Mr. W. J. Hamilton calls these people Greek Turks, and says that they are Christians in secret, but profess Mohammedanism; but he thinks that the practice of circumcision has been handed down from more remote times, as Herodotus mentions that this rite was practised by the Macrones. There is every reason to believe that they are descendants of the older inhabitants of the country.

Arrived at Trebizond, the Greeks deliberated as to the next steps to be pursued. Cheirisophus offered to go off at once and fetch ships to take the Greeks home, which Xenophon did not oppose, but urged that they ought in the mean time to provide themselves with ships from thence, and that in case they should be disappointed in procuring the necessary number, the towns that border the sea should be ordered to repair the roads. This latter proposal met with no favour, but in order to effect the first, the inhabitants of Trezibond lent them two galleys, one with fifty oars, another of thirty oars, but the captain to whom the command of the first was given went away with the galley, and sailed out of the Euxine; for which he was afterwards punished, being slain by Nicander the Lacedæmonian. Polycrates an Athenian, who had command of the other galley, brought in however several transport-ships, the cargoes of which were taken out, and guards appointed to take charge of them.

During the same interval the soldiers went out to get plunder, some succeeding, and others not. On one of these expeditions a captain was slain with many of his company. When the provisions in the neighbourhood were so far consumed, that the parties could not return the same day, Xenophon taking some of the inhabitants of Trezibond for guides, led out one half of the army against the Drillians. Their country was mountainous, and difficult of

access, and the people, the most warlike of all those who live near the Euxine sea.

As soon as the Greeks entered their country, the Drillians set fire to all the places they thought easy to be taken, and then went away: so that the Greeks found nothing but swine and oxen, and some other cattle that escaped the fire. There was one place, called the Metropolis, whither they had all betaken themselves. This place was surrounded by a valley, exceeding deep, and the access to it was difficult. The first attack on this place made by the targeteers was unsuccessful, but at last the heavy-armed men succeeded in effecting an entrance, but when this was accomplished, and the soldiers had begun to plunder, the natives sallied from a citadel in the center of the town, and committed havoc among the Greeks; nor did they find it in their power to dislodge them from this fort, but were ultimately only enabled to make good their retreat from the town by setting it on fire, and they were then pursued by the enemy, who were armed with bucklers, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian or brazen helmets. The next day they regained the camp. These brave and warlike Drillians are unknown to history except through the pages of Xenophon. Arrian advances a supposition that they were Sanni, which we have before seen are the same as Macrones; and this is probably the case, and that they had learnt the art of war in defending themselves against the Colchians and the Greek colonists of Trebizond. Under these circumstances, to advance an opinion regarding the site of their metropolis, or fix it on the map as Hutchinson has done, except that it was situated in the mountains south of Trebizond would be a mere hypothetical amusement.

Cheirisophus not having returned, the ships which had been provided not being sufficient to transport them, and no more provisions being procurable, the Greeks determined to leave the country. To this end they put on board all their sick, and those above forty years of

age, together with the women and children, and all their baggage that was not absolutely necessary, and appointed Philesius and Sophænetus, the oldest of the generals, to go on board and take care of them.

The rest travelled by land, the roads being mended, and the third day they arrived at Kerasunt, a Greek city situated in the country of the Colchians, near the sea, and a colony of the Sinopians. The badness of the roads, when any exist, and the extreme difficulties of land-travelling along the coast of the Black sea under any circumstances, is admitted by all who have tried that line, and it can be easily imagined, that what improvement Xenophon could have prevailed upon the inhabitants to make during the stay of the Greeks at Trebizond, must have been very trifling. The distance travelled under these circumstances is not given, only the general extent, which was three marches, if we take these at their average on good ground, would amount to forty-five miles, attesting that the site of the modern Kérasún does not correspond with that of the Kerasunt of Xenophon, for it is by the air-line upwards of sixty miles from Trebizond. To obviate this difficulty, Mr. W. J. Hamilton has surmised that the site of ancient Kerasunt may have been upon a river flowing through a vale, which he discovered at about twenty miles by the air-line from Trebizond, and which is called Kérasún Dereh-sú. Names of places derived from the abundance of the fruit from whence they derive their appellations, on a coast where that fruit abounds, and from whence the Romans first derived it, ought to be received with caution, and in this case the surmise is not corroborated by the discovery of any ancient ruins; but considering the time that would be occupied by the army in doubling the capes, scaling the rude cliffs, and fording the small but rapid tributaries to the Black sea, and that the distance thus performed must have amounted at least to thirty-five or forty geographical miles, there seems much reason to believe that

this is really the position in question. Dr. Cramer has admitted the argument as we have placed it above, and Kerasunt is placed by the anonymous geographer of the Periplus at ninety stadia from Hieron Oros, and the vale of Ḳérasún is eight miles from Cape Yórós, and sixty stadia from Coralla, the same valley being about six miles from Cape Ḳérélli, the ancient Coralla. The town actually known as Ḳérasún appears to have been the ancient Pharnacia, and hence Arrian's mistake, that Pharnacia and Kerasunt were the same places. Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, all recognize them as distinct places. Strabo says that Pharnacia was built out of the ruins of Cotyora, next came Ischopolis, on the present 'Iskéfeh Dereh-sú, and the bay in which Cerasus and Hermonassa (now Platana), both small towns, are situated. This would place Cerasus nearer to Trebizond, at or near Platana, and on the same gulf, but the testimony of the anonymous Periplus is decisive against this. Cerasus is described by Pomponius as an illustrious town, and it preserved its importance for a long time, for Hierocles places it fourth among the cities of Polemoniac Pontus. It derives most interest from being the place whence Lucullus first introduced to Europe that now popular fruit the cherry, in 73 A.C. The cherry is said to have been introduced into Britain one hundred and twenty years afterwards, but some suppose that the cherries introduced by the Romans into Britain were lost, and that they were re-introduced in the time of Henry VIII. by Richard Haines, the fruiterer of that monarch. The Romans extended the cultivation of the cherry to eight varieties. In the British gardens are upwards of forty sorts. In the north of France whole tracts of land are devoted to the culture of one kind of griotte, or tender-fleshed variety, commonly called the Flemish cherry.

The Greeks stayed ten days at Kerasunt, during which the soldiers were reviewed in their arms, and an account taken of their number, which amounted to eight

thousand six hundred. These were all that were saved out of about ten thousand; the rest were destroyed by the enemy and by the snow, and some by sickness. Here each man received his share of the money that had been raised by the sale of the captives, the tenth part of which they consecrated to Apollo, and to Diana of Ephesus.

From Kerasunt those who went on board before continued their voyage by sea, and the rest proceeded by land. When they came to the confines of the Mosynæcians, they sent a native of Trebizond to learn on what terms, whether amicable or otherwise, they were to be allowed to pass through the country, the answer was unfavorable; so that they sent to enter into an alliance with others of the same tribe who lived beyond these, and were at enmity with them. This was effected, and the farther Mosynæcians sent a force of two hundred men in canoes, who advanced against a fort near the metropolis of the Mosynæcians, but were repulsed, as were also some of the Greeks who went with them in the hopes of plunder. Xenophon upon this led forward the army, the next day took the fort, and pursued the enemy to their city, which they also entered, the inhabitants having fled, with the exception of their king, who resided in a wooden tower situated upon an eminence; so he was burnt with his guard, together with the towers. The Greeks found in the houses great heaps of bread made the year before, and the new corn laid up in straw; also dolphins cut in pieces, and pickled in jars, as well also the fat of the same fish, and great quantities of chestnuts in their garrets, which fruit still abounds along the coast. They also found wine.

Xenophon does not make mention of the name of the metropolis of the Mosynæcians, so that it is difficult to venture an opinion as to its site, although so close to Kerasunt. The Mosynæcians are called Mossyni by Pliny and Pomp. Mela, and are said to have derived their name from μοσυν or μοσσυν, the turrets in which they

educated and kept their king; a circumstance also narrated by Nicolaus of Damascus. Strabo says because they lived in trees and towers. They are also described by Mela and Pliny as painting their bodies, but this custom only obtained, according to Xenophon, among certain reprobates in the nation. Our historian says, that all the army agreed that they were the most barbarous people they had met with in all their expedition.

The Greeks having dined in the metropolis of the Mosynœcians, went forward, after delivering it up to those who had been their allies. They passed by other towns belonging to the enemy, distant from one another about eight miles, more or less, the easiest of access of which were either abandoned or surrendered. Proceeding still forward, they arrived among their allies, and they were altogether eight days passing through the country of the Mosynœcians, including the districts belonging to their enemies and their allies. The country of the Mosynœcians must be considered then as occupying a maritime tract equal in extent to about eighty or ninety miles, and stretching from beyond the hills down to cape Kérélli or Coralla, as far as to the district of Kérasún or Pharnacia, and including the considerable valley of the Gúmísch Kháná river and the district of Térébólí.

After that, they arrived among the Chalybians. These were few in number in these districts, and subject to the Mosynœcians, and the greatest part of them subsisted by the manufacture of iron. This nation and its origin have been previously noticed. It is a curious fact, however, to observe how one nation distinguishes itself from another, by the love of the industrious and the peaceful arts; as the Armenians in the present day, following the trade of goldsmiths and coppersmiths, &c. throughout the East, and the Chaldeans in ancient times, the learned men, the commercial men, navigators and manufacturers of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, and grouped in later times in small tribes around a few

iron and other mines, on the coast of the Euxine. It is to be remarked, however, that the locality thus described by Xenophon is to the east of Cotyora; the district where Mr. W. J. Hamilton found the natives occupied to the present day in extracting iron from the superficial soil, is considerably to the west of that city, and between the ruins of Polemonium and Thermodon, directly south of 'Uníyeh Ḳal'eh (anc. Œnoe). These Chalybians are supposed to be the same as the Alizonians or Alybians of Homer, famous for their mines of silver as they were for those of iron.

From the district of the Chaldeans the Greeks came to that of the Tibarenians. Apollonius places the Amazons on the Thermodon, then the Chalybes, and next the Tibareni. This is also the succession given by Pomponius Mela. We have seen before that Herodotus carries the Chalybes even into Paphlagonia, and there is every reason to believe that they were largely distributed on the coast, wherever they could follow their favourite occupations; and thus there can be little doubt, that if, as Mr. Hamilton found to be the case, iron is still extracted near Œnoe, that there were Chalybians there, as well as to the east of the Tibareni.

Apollonius designates the Tibareni as an opulent people, Pompo. Mela speaks of them in a similar manner, and Xenophon describes their country as more campaign, and their towns near the sea not so strong. The generals of the Greeks were disposed to repeat the uncalled-for attack made upon the Drillians, on this country, and refusing the presents offered to conciliate them, to attack and plunder these apparently industrious and peaceful people; but they were happily prevented by the priests, who stated that the sacrifices forbade it.

Marching then as through a country belonging to their friends, they came to Cotyora, a Greek city, and a colony of the Sinopians, situated in the territory of the Tibarenians. Cotyora was at this time a rich and

prosperous colonial town; but having diminished in power by the building of Pharnacia, by king Pharnacis, out of its spoils, as is related by Strabo, it was already in the time of Arrian a mere village. It has thus left scarcely a trace or a name behind it, and Mr. W. J. Hamilton, who first explored this part of the coast as an antiquarian, sought for it in connexion with its assigned position in regard to Cape Búná or Vona, (the modern Greeks not pronouncing the *B*), from which it was distant ninety stadia (nine geographical miles), and selected as its site the present 'Ordú, where some remains of an ancient port, cut out of the solid rock, are still visible, but others have sought for it at Pershembah, the bay of which is more sheltered than that of 'Ordú, the distance to Cape Búná more agreeable to ancient data, and Mr. W. J. Hamilton himself states that the distance of the last-mentioned place from the river Melanthius, agrees better with the sixty stadia of Arrian, and the anonymous Periplus, than the site of 'Ordú. This latter traveller sailed past Pershembah, so we remain in ignorance as to the existence of traces of ruin, but shall, in the absence of further details, adopt it, from the reasons above given, as the site of the Greek colony of Cotyora.

The Greeks staid forty-five days at Cotyora, during which they first offered sacrifice to the gods; then dividing themselves according to their several nations, made processions, and celebrated gymnic games. After that they went out to get provisions, taking some out of Paphlagonia, (for Xenophon considered the country of the Tibareni to end at Cotyora, and to be succeeded by Paphlagonia,) and the rest out of the country of the Cotyorans, who had refused to supply them with a market, or to admit their sick into the town, but the Greeks forced their sick upon them, placing a guard upon the houses, while the rest of the army encamped without the town, in case of hostilities.

In the meantime, ambassadors arrived from the parent

colony of Sinope, and through their spokesman, Hecatonymus, after congratulating the Greeks on their safe arrival, cast blame on them for having quartered the sick on the townspeople by force, and for helping themselves to provisions. But they were answered with great ability by Xenophon, who contemned them for their inhospitable conduct to their countrymen, and pointed out what the conduct of the army had uniformly been during the retreat, to repay by money and gratitude the favours that were conferred upon them; but that when these were withheld, they were by necessity obliged to provide for themselves. The ambassadors upon this assumed a more friendly tone, assuring them of a hospitable reception at Sinope, and ordering the inhabitants of Cotyora to supply them in the meantime.

The next day the generals called the soldiers together to consider about the rest of their march, in the presence of the Sinopian Greeks, and to profit by their advice. On this occasion, Hecatonymus advised them to proceed by sea, and depicted in the language of truth, the country of the Paphlagonians as very strong, with many fair plains, and mountains of great height. That this country was only to be entered by one pass, that lay between two points of rock, exceeding high, and which could be rendered impregnable by a very few men. This pass appears to be situated in the range of mountains which extends northward into the sea, to form the cape Jasoniun, now Yásún Búrnú, and which Macdonald Kinneir succeeded in crossing, while Mr. Hamilton got round by sailing past the promontory. Hecatonymus said, that the plain beyond would be defended by horse, and lastly, that there were several rivers in the way that could not be passed without boats. First, the Thermodon (Thermeh-sú), which is three hundred feet wide; secondly, the Iris (Yeshíl Irmak), also three hundred feet broad; thirdly, the Halys (Kizil Irmak), not less than six hundred feet in width; and lastly, the Parthenius (Sú-Chatí), also im-

passable. The Greeks, convinced by these statements, voted to go by sea; but Xenophon, with his customary caution, urged that this should only be done unless all were taken away at the same time; when the Sinopians having asked for ambassadors to confer upon the subject, they were granted, and started for Sinope.

In the meantime Xenophon privately embraced the very feasible and not unwise project of building a city upon the Euxine, and peopling it with the army and their followers; but having consulted Silanus the soothsayer upon the subject, the latter acquainted the troops with the project, and that in a manner prejudicial to Xenophon. Some of the army liked the plan, but the greater part were opposed to it; and informed the merchants of Sinope and Heraclea, that unless they supplied the men with money sufficient to buy provisions when they set sail, they were in danger of having so great an army settle in their neighbourhood. These merchants informed the cities in question of this rumour, and they sent to Timasion of Dardanus, to engage him, in consideration of a sum of money, to persuade the army to sail out of the place. He was pleased with the offer, and urged it among the soldiers, advocating their proceeding into Troas, but Thorax, the Bœotian, advocated settling in the Chersonesus, whose beauty and fertility he expatiated upon. Others then attacked Xenophon for offering sacrifice upon the subject in private, but he rose up and defended himself, saying that now ships were to be provided, and that they were to be paid for going away, he was in favour of their going on to Greece; but that he was much opposed to any division of their strength, and to parties going away as they thought fit.

After this the inhabitants of Heraclea sent the ships, but disappointed Timasion and Thorax of the money they had promised them, to pay the soldiers, who in anger at this omission went together to Xenophon, and proposed to sail to the river Phasis, and possess themselves of the

country belonging to the Phasians. Xenophon refused to speak to the troops about this, but recommended each general first to persuade his own captains, and then to call the troops together.

The rumour of this arrangement having however got abroad among the soldiers, they resented the supposed deception, and manifested so great a spirit of insubordination and riot, that Xenophon resolved upon immediately calling the army together. Having obeyed the summons of the crier, he addressed the assembled soldiers with less simplicity than had hitherto generally characterized his speeches, rather tending to shew the impossibility of conveying them to the Phasis, without their knowledge, than denying that any such an intention had been entertained; and upon the old principle, of avoiding exposure, by carrying the war into the enemy's camp, attacked them for insubordination and want of fealty, referring at length to past events, the details of which were apparently not considered of sufficient importance to be related in their proper place, but became sufficiently so to point an argument, and relating chiefly to occurrences of a predatory character, which took place at Kerasunt; and he terminated by appealing to them, that nothing but evil could follow such a state of things, and that an army without obedience must inevitably be lost.

Upon this those present rose up, and said the authors of these disorders should be punished, and they proposed that the generals should bring them to trial. At the same time, upon Xenophon's motion and the concurrence of the priest, it was resolved, after the fashion followed by Agamemnon on sending back Chryseis to her father, that the army should be purified. They further decreed that the generals themselves should be called to an account for their past conduct, and several were upon their trial fined; nor did Xenophon himself get off without accusations, which especially referred to his beating and abusing the soldiers when in charge of the rear, and driving them

for their own welfare through the snows of Armenia. The historian and general's defence of himself, founded as it was upon this occasion upon the force of circumstances, and of an imperious necessity, was perfectly successful, and, to use his own words, he was acquitted, and all was well.

END OF BOOK FIFTH.

BOOK SIXTH.

The Greeks entertain Ambassadors from Paphlagonia. Antiquities of Sinope. Port of Harmene. Cheirisophus elected Commander-in-chief. Heraclea Pontica. Antiquities and Ruins. Acherusian Peninsula. Labours of Hercules. The Greeks divide into three bodies. Bebrycia and Thynia. Xenophon proceeds through the Interior. Port of Calpe. Defeat of the Arcadians. Death of Cheirisophus. Xenophon Commander. Superstitious Procrastination. Engagement with the Bithynians. Arrival of Cleander. Tumult of Dexippus. Agasias vindicates himself. Departure of Cleander. Greeks arrive at Chrysopolis.

BOOK SIXTH.

FROM this time, the Greeks while they staid at Cotyora subsisted themselves by the provisions they bought in the market, and others, by those they got in plundering the country of Paphlagonia. On the other hand, the Paphlagonians lost no opportunity of robbing the stragglers, and in the night-time endeavoured to annoy those who were encamped in places more advanced than the rest. Upon this Corylas, who was governor of Paphlagonia, sent ambassadors to the Greeks, and they were entertained with great hospitality, and various dances described by Xenophon were performed before them. After the ambassadors were departed, the Greeks, finding they had as many ships as they wanted, embarked, and sailed with a fair wind all that day and the next night, keeping Paphlagonia on their left hand; and the day after they arrived at Sinope, and anchored in Harmene, one of its ports. Sinope is stated as situated in Paphlagonia, and being a colony of Milesians.

The origin of Sinope dates to such a remote antiquity, as to be involved in the mythology of the Greeks as the scene of one of the fabulous exploits of Jupiter. Strabo states that it was built by the Sinopians. It became a powerful Greek colony, having, as we have previously observed, founded Cotyora, Kerasunt, and Trapezus. Captured by Pharnaces, it became a royal seat of the Pontic kings, and Mithridates the Great was born and educated there. It was brought under Roman dominion by Lucullus, and became a Roman colony. Sinope was also the country of Diogenes the Cynic.

This city as the capital of Mithridates Eupator was much embellished, and a harbour was formed by that

prince on each side of the narrow isthmus which separates it from the mainland, and which makes this peninsula look from the distance like an island. The town is to the present day defended on the isthmus side by a wall, strengthened by several towers, some of which have swerved considerably from the perpendicular.

Within this ancient colony, and Pontic city, no less illustrious in its origin, than in its defence against hostile attacks, and in its final fall, nothing remains standing of its once celebrated buildings, its magnificent halls, and the beautiful temples with which it was embellished by successive princes and rulers. The few traces of its former magnificence, described by travellers, consist of Roman arches, the remains of an aqueduct, now forming part of the wall of the citadel, numerous fragments of ancient architecture, such as columns, architraves, &c. built into the inner wall across the isthmus, into the walls of U'ch-Ḳal'eh, the modern citadel, and distributed in the court-yard of a mosque, near the center of the town. Among these, many interesting inscriptions were copied by Mr. W. J. Hamilton; one on the circular pedestal of a statue in honour of Antonine, son of Antoninus Pius, concluding with the letters C. J. F. which are the same as occur on the imperial coins of Sinope, signifying Colonia Julia Felix, also another with the word χολωνεια on a sarcophagus, proving it to have belonged to times subsequent to the Roman conquest; besides which were remains of edifices erected in honour of Germanicus, and a marble lion worked into the outer wall to the southward.

Harmene, or Armene, was, according to Strabo, five miles from Sinope; according to Arrian four. It is described by Marcius as a large harbour, and by Scylax as a Greek town and harbour. The Greeks staid here five days, during which time Cheirisophus joined them with some galleys, but the soldiers were disappointed that he brought nothing with them. The Sinopians supplied them with wine and flour.

Looking upon themselves as in the neighbourhood of Greece, the Greeks now became desirous of carrying some booty home with them; and to effect this they resolved to make choice of a general-in-chief as more likely to ensure success and procure obedience. With this view they cast their eyes on Xenophon, and sent the captains on a mission to him. Xenophon was not averse to the appointment, but appears to have declined it, either through prudence, or superstition, for the sacrifice made on the occasion to Jupiter the king proved unfavorable.

Xenophon having declined the command of the army, Cheirisophus was chosen to that office, when he immediately issued orders to be ready to sail for Heraclea the next morning, should the weather be favorable. Accordingly the next day they weighed anchor with a fair wind, and sailed two days along the coast, and in their passage saw the Jasonian shore, where the ship Argo is said to have gone ashore, and the mouths of several rivers, among which Xenophon enumerates the Thermodon, the Halys, which enter the Euxine to the east of Sinope; a positive error, which is unequalled throughout the whole narrative of the Expedition, and must evidently have been owing to the interpolation in this place in after times of notes made during the sea-voyage from Kerasunt to Sinope.

Hence they arrived at Heraclea a Greek city, and a colony of the Megarians, situated in the country of the Maryandini. They came to an anchor near to the peninsula of Acherusians, where Hercules is said to have descended to bring up Cerberus, and where they shewed at that time a chasm six hundred feet in depth, as a monument of his descent. The inhabitants of Heraclea sent the Greeks oxen, sheep, barley-meal, and wine, as hospitable presents. Xenophon describes the Lycus, which is about two hundred feet broad, as running through the plain at this place.

Heraclea, surnamed Pontica, if not the greatest, has always been one of the most remarkable cities of Bithynia. Anterior to its becoming a Greek colony, it is recorded by Apollonius that the Argonauts were kindly received at Heraclea by a king Lycus, which would appear to represent allegorically that their ships found shelter in the river Lycus, and the same river, which derived its name from its sudden inundations, and overpowering floods, is in the present day designated the Ḳilij-sú or Sword river, expressive of the same peculiarity.

Heraclea, in the language of Rennell, has filled the page of history by its grandeur and its misfortunes. It preserved its republican constitution in the midst of vicissitudes till 370 A. C. when the democratic faction raised a tyrant, Clearchus, to the throne, who abolished the senate, and whose family preserved a long time the authority after he had been assassinated by two disciples of Plato; but as a separate history of Heraclea exists in the fragments of Memnon preserved by Photius, it saves us from unessential details.

The present town occupies only the south-west corner of the space covered by the ancient city, and contains two hundred and fifty houses of Mohammedans, and forty houses of Greek Christians. The walls of the town extend along the sea-shore, then ascend a hill which they about divide in half, up to its highest point, where they encircle the ruins of an acropolis, having a Greek inscription of the Byzantine era in front. The wall then returns along the side of the valley called Ṭabaná Derehsí, which has a small rivulet in its center. These walls are in a ruinous condition, and constructed in part from the remains of older ramparts. There occur in them numerous fragments of columns, hewn stones with crosses, cornices and tablets with Greek inscriptions, shewing that they were erected since the Byzantine era.

In that part of the wall which fronts the sea there are the remains of another and outer wall, which is

chiefly composed of vast irregular masses of basalt, and limestone cemented by mortar. This wall contains no fragments of Byzantine architecture. It probably therefore defended the city anterior to that period, and the encroachment of the sea necessitated that, when rebuilt, it should be erected further inland. Connected with the outer wall are the remains of a long and rude mole, which advances from its northern end into the sea.

There are also traces of a wall that extended beyond the present wall to the north, to a deep valley with rivulet called Jawúr Irmáḳ, or Infidel river. In the space included within this more ancient portion of Heraclea, are to be found numerous traces of ruins and of tesselated pavements. The valley of the brook appears once to have been a harbour for galleys, and there are still the remains of towers which defended it.

This is probably the neck of the Acherusian peninsula; the name Acherusia being given by the ancients to various lakes or swamps, which, like the various rivers of the name of Acheron, were at some time believed to be connected with the lower world, until at last they came to be considered to be in the lower world itself. The lake to which this belief seems to have been first attached was the Acherusia in Thesprotia, through which the river Acheron flowed. Other lakes or swamps of the same name, and believed to be in connexion with the lower world, were near Hermione in Argolis between Cumæ and Cape Misenum in Campania, and in Egypt near Memphis. (See *Dict. of Greek and Roman Mythology*, by Dr. W. Smith, &c). We have here probably the key to one of the poetically described labours of Hercules, who, if he wrought at the improvement of this ancient city, could not have done a more serviceable act, than to dig a harbour at this swamp, between Heraclea and the adjoining peninsula. Such an operation may not without justice be described as digging Cerberus from the depths below.

At Heraclea, the Greeks being assembled deliberated whether they should proceed the rest of the way, till they were out of the Euxine, by land or by sea. Some proposed to force tribute from the city, and Cheirisophus and Xenophon having declined the mission to constrain a Greek city in friendship with them, they sent three persons of their own nomination, whose demands conveyed in a threatening manner to the Heraclians, caused them to close their gates and put themselves in a state of defence. This produced a dissension among the Greeks, who accused their generals of having defeated the design, and the Arcadians and Achaians, who made above half the army, separated themselves from the rest, and chose their own generals, to the number of ten. 'Here therefore,' says Xenophon, 'ended the generalship of Cheirisophus, the sixth or seventh day after he was chosen.'

Xenophon at this time also detached himself from Cheirisophus, so that the army was divided into three bodies; the first consisted of Arcadians and Achaians, being above four thousand five hundred in number, all heavy-armed men; the second under Cheirisophus, of fourteen hundred armed men, and seven hundred targeteers; and the third under Xenophon, consisting of seventeen hundred heavy-armed men and three hundred targeteers, besides a body-guard of forty horse.

The Arcadians having furnished themselves with ships from Heraclea, first set sail; that, by falling upon the Bithynians unawares they might get the greater booty. With this view they landed in the port of Calpe, situated about the middle of Thrace. Bithynia was in more ancient times called Bebrycia, but the Thracians having expelled the Thyni from Thrace into Bebrycia, and conquered part of that country nearest to Byzantium, the Thyni were driven to that part near the sea, and the Bebryces into the interior, till the whole country was cemented under the name of Bi-Thynia. Hence it is that Xenophon makes Thrace commence immediately after Heraclea.

The Arcadians, landing by night at the port of Calpe, marched to the next villages, about five miles from the sea. They drove the Thracians thence, and took many slaves, and numbers of cattle. But the Thracians having assembled, attacked the Arcadians when divided, and defeated two divisions, killing many men and one of their ten generals, and ultimately surrounding their encampment which was upon a hill, and closely besieging them.

When Cheirisophus left Heraclea, he travelled at first through the country, but when he arrived in Thrace, he kept near the sea because he was in an ill state of health; and he arrived at this opportune moment at the port of Calpe.

Xenophon having provided himself with ships, landed upon the confines of Thrace and of the territory of Heraclea, very probably defined by the river of Alábli, the ancient Elæus, and from thence he marched through the middle of the country, by which we must suppose that he crossed the limitrophal chain of hills, the present Yaïláh Ṭágh, and the ancient Mons Hypius; descending upon the fertile plain of Prusa ad Hypium, now called after the more insignificant site of Dúzcháh, the ancient Duseprum, situated on the same plain. This is the more likely, as Xenophon appears to have been willing to lead his followers to booty, as seen in the attack upon the Drillians, and also because there is no middle road—nothing but hills and impassable forests between the middle plains and the coast. While Xenophon was upon his march through the middle of the country, his horse, who were upon the scout, met with some ambassadors who were travelling the road. These men brought intelligence that the Greeks were besieged upon a hill, and that the whole army of the Thracians had surrounded them on all sides. Being, as he himself stated, at a great distance from Heraclea on the one side, and Chrysopolis on the other, Xenophon kept the men as guides, and determined to march to the assistance of the Greeks, firing every combustible thing on his way. On arriving at

the hill they found the Arcadians were gone away, and only some old men and women, with a few sheep and oxen, left behind. So they went on to the port of Calpe, where they found the Arcadians, who had been delivered from their siege by the fires lighted by Xenophon having alarmed the Thracians.

Calpe was a river and harbour of note, as attested by Arrian, Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy. A promontory, now called Kirpé, or Kéfken 'Adasi, runs out into the sea, of which that part, says Xenophon, which lies contiguous to it, is a craggy rock, in no place less than twenty fathoms high. The neck of land by which this promontory is joined to the continent is about four hundred feet in breadth, and the space within this rock is ample enough to afford habitation for ten thousand men. The port lay under the rock upon the western shore, and close to the sea there flowed a plentiful spring of fresh water, commanded by the rock. The mountain (Kéfken Tágh) that lay next the port extended two miles into the mid-land. Near the sea grew numbers of stately trees of every kind, and the country around afforded great plenty of timber. This is so much the case now, that it is designated by the Turks as the Aghaj Denizí, or 'sea of trees.' The rest of the country was pleasant and spacious, abounding with villages well inhabited, and producing everything but olive-trees. In the present day the Turks distinguish two bays and two promontories; the first bay is called Kirpé Limán, and between it and the second is a promontory, which being sometimes mistaken by sailors for the real Kirpé or Kéfken 'Adasí, is called I'alandjí Kéfken, or the lying or deceitful Kéfken.

The day after the junction of the forces was spent in burying the dead, and erecting a cenotaph and funeral pile for those whose bodies could not be found. The next day there was a meeting held to induce the army in future to keep together, and Cheirisophus having died of his fever, or, according to Xenophon, of a medicine

he took to cure it, Neon the Asinæan was appointed to succeed him. Xenophon the Athenian makes no comment on the dissolution of his Lacedæmonian rival; but he appears now to have had in reality, if not nominally, the chief command. His superstition placed however at the outset insurmountable obstacles in the the way of rapid and effective movements. Provisions were beginning to fail, yet for three days they did not move, because the sacrifices were not favorable to their departure. This caused a murmur among the troops, who thought that Xenophon wished to detain them there and build a city, and from his careful and admiring description of Calpe this is not improbable. The next day it was announced that Cleander the Lacedæmonian, governor of Byzantium, was coming with transports and galleys, and the victims continuing unfavorable, they determined to wait for him.

Sacrifices were next made to see if they might make excursions in search of provisions, but they also proved unfavorable, till Xenophon was reduced to taking the oxen out of the carts for sacrifices. But Neon, who had succeeded Cheirisophus, wearied at these proceedings, tempted the troops to make a partial incursion, the consequence of which was that they were attacked by some horsemen belonging to Pharnabazus, satrap of Bithynia, who killed five hundred of the Greeks. Xenophon went out to their relief, and brought in the remainder, but the same night the advanced guard was surprised, and many Greeks were slain.

The next day the Greeks retired to the promontory, where they fortified themselves by digging a trench across the neck of land, and erecting a palisade, to which they left three gates. At the same time a ship arrived from Heraclea, laden with cattle, barley-meal, and wine. After this the sacrifices proving favorable, Xenophon led out the greater part of the army, when they buried the slain, and marched on till they met the enemy, who were posted on the opposite side of a narrow and deep ravine six miles

from the promontory; this however, after some demurring, they passed, and a sharp engagement took place, in which at first the targeteers were worsted, but the heavy-armed men coming up, the enemy were at length overthrown, and retreated to a ravine, where night prevented the Greeks pursuing them.

After this the Greeks enjoyed peace, and Xenophon went on with his favorite project of founding a colony. Provisions were plentiful, and the camp abounded in all things. People who sailed along the coast being informed that a city was going to be built with a haven, willingly put in there, and those of the enemy who lived in the neighbourhood sent to Xenophon, hearing he had the conduct of the intended settlement, to know what they should do to deserve his friendship.

But in the mean time, Cleander the governor of Byzantium arrived with two galleys, but no transports. It happened, that when he came the army was gone out to get provisions, and a party of stragglers, going up the mountain in search of plunder, took a great number of sheep; but being afraid they would be taken from them, they informed Dexippus (the same who ran away with the fifty-oar galley from Trebizond), and desired him to secure the sheep.

Immediately Dexippus drove away the soldiers who stood round them, and told them the sheep belonged to the public; he then went to Cleander, and informed him that they had endeavoured to take them away by force. Cleander ordered him to bring the man before him. Upon this Dexippus seized one of the men, and was carrying him away, when Agasias, meeting him, rescued the man; for he belonged to his company; and the rest of the soldiers who were present threw stones at Dexippus, calling him traitor. This put not only him, but many of the men also, who belonged to the galleys, in fear, and made them fly to the sea; and Cleander himself was amongst those who fled. Hereupon Xenophon, and the

rest of the generals, endeavoured to suppress the tumult, and told Cleander that there was no danger, and that all this was occasioned by the standing orders of the army. But Cleander being inflamed by Dexippus, and himself nettled at having shewn so much fear, said he would sail away, and cause them to be proclaimed enemies, and that as such none of the Greek cities should receive them, for the Lacedæmonians were at that time the masters of all Greece.

The Greeks looked upon this as an affair of bad consequence, and begged of him not to do it; but he said it could not be otherwise, unless they delivered up the man who began throwing stones, together with the person who rescued him. This was Agasias, the constant friend of Xenophon. In this perplexity the army was called together, and Xenophon addressed them, recommending that the guilty should be given up to trial. Agasias then nobly offered himself up, and went to Cleander accompanied by Xenophon and the other generals, who offered submission to his judgment.

Agasias took this opportunity of explaining the circumstance, and of impugning the character of Dexippus, whom he proclaimed to be a traitor, both to the Greeks and to the inhabitants of Trebizond, and 'Know then,' he finished by saying, 'that if you put me to death, you will destroy a brave man, for the sake of a coward and a villain.'

Cleander hearing this was much struck, and could not approve of Dexippus' conduct, but he still required that Agasias should be left with him, and the soldier having also made his defence, was also ordered to stay. But after dinner, the generals having interfered again for the prisoners, they were liberated, and Cleander and Xenophon contracted an intercourse of hospitality; Cleander promising to conduct them to Greece, but after making sacrifices for three days, the victims not being favorable, he told them to go on by land to Byzantium, where they should be well received.

Upon this the soldiers made him a present of the sheep, which he accepted only to give them to the army again, after which he sailed away. The soldiers having sold the corn they had brought with them, and the rest of the booty they had taken, they marched on through Bithynia, and meeting nothing in the direct road to carry with them into the territories of their friends, they resolved to march back one day and a night: and having done so, they took great numbers both of slaves and cattle; and after six days' march arrived at Chrysopolis, a town of Chalcedony, and there they staid seven days, to sell their booty.

Chrysopolis, 'the Golden city,' was so called, according to Denis of Byzantium, because the Persians assembled there the tribute of the towns that were subject to them. Others relate that it derived its name from Chryses son of Agamemnon, and of Chryseis, who was buried there. From its position with regard to Byzantium and Constantinople, of which it may be considered as the Asiatic suburb, it has always been a place of importance, and as the modern 'Uskúdár or Scutari, with a population of from thirty to thirty-five thousand souls, it has been truly remarked, that it would be considered a large town but for the presence of Constantinople on the other side.

END OF BOOK SIXTH.

BOOK SEVENTH.

Inhospitable Reception of the Greeks by Anaxibius, Lacedæmonian Admiral, and Cleander, Lacedæmonian Governor of Byzantium. Tumult in Byzantium. Cyratades the Theban. Encamp in Thracian Villages. Xenophon sails away with Anaxibius. Anaxibius and Cleander superseded. Xenophon returns to the Greeks. Aristarchus opposes their Departure. Greeks enter the service of Seuthes. The Delta of the Thracians. Capture of Salmydessus. Envoys from Thimbron. Greeks cross the Propontis. Xenophon's Poverty. His expensive Sacrifices. March of the Greeks through Troas. Mount Ida. Antandrus. Plain of Thebes. Xenophon's Successes. Arrival of Thimbron. The Greeks join him in a War against Tissaphernes. Extent of Marches.

BOOK SEVENTH.

PHARNABAZUS, Persian satrap of the northern districts of Asia Minor, fearing lest the Greeks should make an irruption into the country, sent to Anaxibius, the Lacedæmonian admiral, who happened to be then at Byzantium, to desire he would transport the army out of Asia. Hereupon Anaxibius sent for the generals and captains to Byzantium, and promised, if the army came over, they should have pay. Upon this the whole of the Greeks passed over to Byzantium, but Anaxibius gave them no pay, and issued an order that the soldiers should go out of the town with their arms and baggage. This they were naturally unwilling to do, till it was arranged between Anaxibius, Cleander, and Xenophon, that the latter should lead them. When out of the town, Anaxibius told them they might go on to the Chersonesus, where they should obtain pay; and the gates of the city were closed upon them. Upon this the soldiers ran to their arms, and, breaking open the gates, threw such terror and disorder into Byzantium, that Anaxibius had to send for the garrison from Chalcedon (Kadí Keuy). The soldiers wished Xenophon to embrace this opportunity of making himself master of Byzantium, but he drew them up in the open space, called the Thracian square, and pointed out the impossibility of their ever resisting the power of the Lacedæmonians, when the Athenians, with a fleet of four hundred galleys, a large revenue, and the command of the islands, had been conquered by them, and urged the necessity of treaty.

This was resolved upon, and a mission was sent to Anaxibius, who in return assured them they should have no cause to repent obeying him. Upon this they went out of town, immediately after which the gates were shut,

and public notice given, that if any of the soldiers were found within the walls they should be sold for slaves. Xenophon however applied to his friend Cleander for liberty to go into the town and embark with Anaxibius, which was granted to him.

While the army was in Byzantium, there came to them a Theban, Cyratades by name, who, like some moderns, wandered about, from an ambition to command armies, offering himself to any city or nation that wanted a general. He told them he was ready to conduct them to that part of Thrace called the Delta, where they should make their fortunes, and that till they arrived there he would supply them with meat and drink in plenty. The day after they had gone out of town, Cyratades came to the army, with victims and a priest, and a quantity of barley-meal, olives, garlic, onions, and wine. But the victims not being favorable the first day, he distributed nothing to the soldiers.

The next day, as Cyratades, with a garland upon his head, stood with the victims before the altar, preparing to offer sacrifice, the generals Timasion, Neon, and Cleanor, came and fordade him to proceed, unless he gave provisions to the army. Upon this he ordered the provisions to be distributed; but as they fell short of one day's subsistence for every man, he was obliged to renounce the generalship, and taking the victims, departed.

Hereupon the generals led the army into some villages of the Thracians which lay near Byzantium, where they encamped. Here the generals disagreed; Cleanor and Phryniscus being desirous to carry the army to Seuthes, governor of the European Thracians, and Neon, to the Chersonesus. The soldiers and Timasion were for going back into Asia; but much time being spent in this dispute, many of the soldiers sold their arms, and sailed away as they could; others settled in the cities, mingling with the inhabitants, and Anaxibius was pleased to hear that the army was disbanding, for he concluded that this would be most acceptable to Pharnabazus.

Xenophon having sailed with the admiral to Cyzicus, they there met Aristarchus, who was on his way to supersede Cleander as governor of Byzantium, and who announced that Anaxibius was also superseded by Polus. The town of Cyzicus, of so much celebrity in ancient history, is now represented by the ruins of Bäl Kíz, which have been minutely described by Mr. W. J. Hamilton. From thence Anaxibius went to Parium, a town upon the Propontis, situated between Cyzicus and the Hellespont; and built, according to Strabo, by the inhabitants of the islands of Paros. It was a noble city of antiquity, and a colony. Pliny makes it the same as the Adrastia of Homer, but Strabo differs on this point. Here the Lacedæmonian sent to Pharnabazus, to claim his friendship, but the Persian, now that he was no longer admiral, slighted him. Upon this Anaxibius in his anger requested Xenophon to go over to what Greeks still remained in European Thrace, and collecting them together, to lead them to Perinthus, and thence transport them forthwith into Asia. For this purpose he placed at his disposal a thirty-oar galley. Perinthus was a city of Thrace on the sea of Marmora, and was otherwise called Heraclea. There is a town occupying the same site in the present day, designated as Haraklí or Ereglí. Xenophon having crossed the Propontis, and arrived at the army, was received by the soldiers with great joy, and they followed him cheerfully, in hopes of passing over from Thrace into Asia. Seuthes hearing that Xenophon was returned, sent Medosades to him by sea, to Selymbria, now Silivrí, between Byzantium and Perinthus, to meet him; and to desire him to come over to him, and bring the army with him. But Xenophon conducted the troops, as ordered by Anaxibius, to Perinthus; Neon alone separating with his followers. These movements coming to the ears of Aristarchus, the new governor of Byzantium, who is stated to have actually sold four hundred of the Greeks who had taken refuge in the city, he arrived in two galleys to prevent their departure.

Hereupon finding their retreat cut off, Xenophon went to Seuthes, whom he found living in a castle much upon his guard, to see what he wanted the Greeks for, and what they would profit by entering his service. Seuthes said his object was to regain his paternal kingdom, which had been usurped by Medocus, and he promised for the services offered, money, lands, yokes of oxen, and a walled town to reside in. To Xenophon he offered his daughter, and a town to himself.

Upon the faith of these promises the Greeks entered into the service of Seuthes, and there was great feasting, at which a certain Heraclides of Maronea, a Greek in the service of Seuthes, went about recommending the generals to make presents to Seuthes, which sorely puzzled Xenophon, who being a philosopher, had only one servant and very little money with him. The same night they started at midnight, and passing a mountain covered with snow, came to villages, which they plundered and burnt, sending the booty to Perinthus.

They next marched into the country called the Delta of the Thracians, which lay above Byzantium, and here several yokes of oxen were distributed among the generals, but to the army they only gave twenty days' pay, although the month was up; and this caused the first bad feeling between Xenophon and Seuthes and Heraclides; the latter of whom had the sale and distribution of the booty.

Pursuing their expedition, they marched through the country of the Thracians, called the Melinophagi, who dwelt in the eastern part of the Kutchúk Ba'lkán, in the Sanjak of Visa, with the Euxine on the right hand, and arrived at Salmydissus, or Kalmydissus, the name of a district as well as of a town (now Midíyah) upon the Euxine. After they had subdued the inhabitants, who lived chiefly by the plunder of wrecks, they returned and encamped on a plain above Selymbria. By this time the army of Seuthes had swelled, by the union of the Odrysians, and by many of the conquered Thracians having joined it, till it was nearly twice as numerous as

that of the Greeks. They still neglected, however, to pay their mercenary allies, and there was much discontent among the soldiers, as well as ill feeling between Seuthes and Xenophon.

At this time two Lacedæmonians, Charminus and Polynicus, arrived on a mission from Thimbron, to induce the Greeks to join in a war against Tissaphernes. Seuthes received them with great hospitality, for he wanted to get rid of the Greeks without paying them their dues, and the proposal was afterwards made in a public assembly. On this occasion an Arcadian accused Xenophon of detaining the Greeks, during two months of the winter-season, without profit to themselves, and for his mere personal enrichment. Xenophon easily repudiated such an unfounded charge, and the Lacedæmonian envoys were convinced of his innocence, and spoke in his favour, but the same charge was then made with far greater effect against Heraclides, who was glad to run away, with Seuthes.

Seuthes, however, wished very much to keep Xenophon in the country with him, but the Athenians, having consulted the victims, determined on departing; he succeeded, however, in obtaining a small remuneration for the Greeks from the Thracian chieftain. The Greeks now crossed the Propontis to Lampsacus, a well-known port on the Hellespont, still called Lamsakí, and an ancient colony of Phocæans, and celebrated for its wine. Here Euclides, the Phliasian priest, challenged Xenophon for having gold with him; Xenophon denied this, and an inspection of the victims proved his sincerity, and at the same time that he would have money, but that the Meilichian Jupiter was an obstacle to him, and the priest recommended to sacrifice to him. The next day, Xenophon having sold his horse, which he loved much, to defray the expenses of the sacrifices, went to Ophrynium, a town of Dardania, near which stood the grove of Hector and offered sacrifice, burning whole hogs, according to the custom of his country; and the entrails were favorable.

The same day Biton and Euclides arrived with money for the army. These contracted an intercourse of hospitality with Xenophon, and recovered his horse for him.

From thence the Greeks marched through Troas, and passing over the celebrated mount Ida, they came first to Antandrus, situated, according to Strabo and others, under the mountain and upon the sea-shore. Most maps have still a site on the spot on the shore westward of Adramytti, called Antandro, but Mr. W. J. Hamilton's map, which is founded upon the latest surveys, does not notice it. Perhaps only the site exists, and not a village or town of that name. Hence they continued their march along the coast of the Lydian sea, to the plain of Thebes. It is known, from Herodotus and Livy, that the plain of Adramyttium was so called. Thence they passed through Atramyttium (in the orthography of Xenophon), now Adramytti, and Certonicum (Kertonium), which is generally believed to be the Karene of Herodotus, and Carene of Pliny, and no doubt the Karesos of Homer, in the district of Caresana of Strabo; a district derived from one of the scolopender-like feet of Ida, and in which the river flowed past a town of the same name. It appears to be represented in the present day by the ruins found in the Kellés limán, or bay, having a river flowing into it; thence the Greeks went by Atarne, an Æolian city, the Atarnea of Pliny, and Atarneus of Strabo, between Adramyttium and Pitane, to the plain of Caïcus.

Saxosumque sonans Hypanis, Mysusque Caicus.
Virg. *Georg.* iv. v. 370.

Teuthranteusque Caicus. Ovid. *Metam.* 243.

apparently the modern Krimaklí, and from whence they gained Pergamus.

Bergma, the ancient and renowned Pergamus, still presents the remains of its former grandeur, as the capital of the Attalian dynasty. This city stands at the foot of a very steep high hill, which covers it from the north winds, eighteen miles east of the sea or gulf of Pergamus, and a mile from the banks of the Caicus, which

in winter overflows its banks, and renders the place difficult of access. Its present population is estimated at fifteen thousand souls. It contains ten mosques, two Christian churches, and a synagogue. In the time of Spon and Wheeler there were only fifteen Christian families here, very poor, and who earned a scanty subsistence by cultivating gardens. The streets are wider and cleaner than is usual in Asiatic towns. An immensely large building, formerly a Christian church, now a mosque, is said to be the church in which the disciples met to whom St. John directed his letter, and they shew what is said to be the tomb of Antipas 'the faithful martyr.' Pergamus is celebrated for the invention of parchment, and for its library collected successively by the Attalian monarchs, which amounted to two hundred thousand volumes, all of which fell into the hands of the Romans, and were subsequently presented to the Alexandrian Library by Antony the husband of Cleopatra. It is however as the third of the seven churches of Asia that it derives its greatest interest to the Christian. It was upwards of a century and a half after the time of Xenophon that Pergamus became a monarchy; and Heeren remarks of it, that it raised itself by the greatness of its kings, the weakness of the Seleucidæ, and the policy of the Romans. History scarcely offers another example of a kingdom, thus influenced from without, of which the princes turned with so much skill these political relations to their own advantage. But their greatest glory consists in the encouragement given to the arts of peace, to industry and science; to architecture and the arts of drawing, in which they shewed themselves the rivals of the Ptolemies. In these points indeed, how much does the glory of the little kingdom of Pergamus outshine that of many great kingdoms!

At Pergamus Xenophon was entertained by Hellas, the wife of Gongylus the Eretrian. She informed him that Asidates, a Persian, lay encamped in the plain, and that he might surprise him in the night, and take him with his wife and children, and all his riches, which were

considerable. The victims being favorable, he set out after supper, and arrived about midnight; but not being able to take the place by assault (for it was well fortified), he endeavoured to make a breach in the wall, which was effected by day-break, but the first who attempted to enter was run through the thigh, and at the same time the enemy sent such a shower of arrows, that it was unsafe to approach the wall, assistance also arrived from various places in the neighbourhood, and the Greeks were forced to retreat, taking with them what slaves, oxen, and sheep, were there, and marching in a hollow square. The enemy followed them, and on passing the Caicus, nearly half their number were wounded, and amongst them Agasias the upright enemy of Dexippus.

The next day Xenophon offered sacrifice, and Asidates having quitted the castle, encamped in some villages reaching to the walls of Parthenium, a town noticed by Pliny as being in the Troas; here Xenophon came up with the Persian, and took him with his wife and children, his horses, and all his riches. After that he returned to Pergamus.

Xenophon had now no reason to complain of Jupiter Meilichius; for the Lacedæmonians, the generals and captains and soldiers, all vied in selecting for him not only horses, but yokes of oxen, and other things: so that, to use his own simple language, 'he had it now in his power even to oblige a friend.'

After this Thimbron arrived, and taking the command of the army, joined it to the rest of the Greek forces, and made war upon Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

The whole of the way, both of the Expedition and of the Retreat, comprised two hundred and fifteen days' march, of eleven hundred fifty-five parasangs, and of thirty four thousand six hundred and fifty stadia, or three thousand four hundred and sixty-five geographic miles, and the time employed in both, was a year and three months.

END OF BOOK SEVENTH.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ON A FEW ASTRONOMICAL POINTS CONNECTED WITH THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

The discrepancy which existed between the Arabian and Alexandrian geographers, in regard to the latitude of the northern parts of Asia Minor, led to long discussions among former commentators upon the Expedition of Cyrus, for which there is happily no longer occasion. The Arabians, it is well known, laid down Byzantium, and the northern parts of Asia Minor, in about 45° of North latitude, while Ptolemy placed them in about 43°. The Mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople has been astronomically fixed in modern times by Gauttier, as being in North latitude 41° 0′ 12″, and 28° 59′ 2″ of East longitude. The whole coast of the Euxine is North of this parallel, but only at one point (Injch Búrnú), 'narrow cape,' extends beyond the parallel of 42°; Sinope being, according to Gauttier, in 42° 2′ 30″ North latitude. We have also the following further data upon this subject:

Haraklí	41°	15′	30″	N. Lat.	Ainsw. and Russell.
Sinope	42	2	30	—	Gauttier.
———	42	1	45	—	W. J. Hamilton.
Kúmjas.....	41	28	30	—	do.
Cape Yasún.....	41	7	35	—	do.
Kérasún	40	52	40	—	do.
Élehú	41	0	40	—	do.
Trebizond	41	1	0	—	Gauttier.
———	40	59	0	—	W. J. Hamilton.

The positive width of the Asiatic peninsula can thus be easily determined, as we have for the southern coast the accurate observations of the hydrographer, Captain Beaufort, and of Lieut. Murphy, the astronomer of the Euphrates expedition; and which shew, that at its most southerly point of Cape Anamúr the coast does not reach the parallel of 36°, although within a little more than a minute of it.

The questions as to whether the position of Massalia (Messina), given by Hipparchus, after Pythæas, in Lat. 43°, and stated by Strabo in a general manner to lie under the same parallel as Byzan-

tium, was the cause of misleading the Alexandrian geographer; and whether the Arabians on their side increased the amount of error by mistaking 43° for 45°, remain in the present day simply as curiosities in the progress of historical geography. The result was, that Ptolemy, and a great number of geographers after him, made the Asiatic peninsula two degrees and a half broader than it is, and the Arabians extended this to four degrees and a half.

The reason for Strabo placing Byzantium too far to the north has also been found in his allowing 4900 stadia due north, from Rhodes to Byzantium, the first of these two places being upon the celebrated imaginary parallel, called the Diaphragm of Rhodes, on which Eratosthenes proposed to mark off the longitudinal measurements of the known world, and which corresponded to the parallel of 26° 21′. It is obvious that this distance, which applies itself only to a devious navigation of 490 G. miles, would carry Byzantium three degrees more to the northward than it really is.

The subject of the Diaphragm of Rhodes permits me to make here an interesting remark regarding the positioning of Thapsacus. It is well known that the Pillars of Hercules, the city of Rhodes, the Gulf of Issus, Thapsacus on the Euphrates, the passage of the Tigris at Nineveh, the Mes-Pylæ of Xenophon, and the Atropatenian Ecbatana, were among the chief points upon this arbitrary parallel; and Major Rawlinson has lately expressed his belief, relying on the judgment of antiquity, that they would not be found to vary many minutes from the said parallel. Although actual observation has not coincided within so small an amount of error, still the approximation has been sufficiently close to lend an interest to the enquiry, and in an indirect manner, even to throw additional light upon a question of comparative geography.

Gibraltar	36°	6′	30″	N. Lat.	Smith.
Rhodes (mole)	36	26	15	—	Beaufort.
Iskenderún (Gulf of Issus)...	36	35	19	—	Murphy.
Rakkah (near Thapsacus) ...	35	55	35	—	do.
Mósul (near Nineveh)	36	21	0	—	Ainsworth.
Takhti Suleïmán (Ecbatana)	36	27	0	—	Rawlinson.

The assumed Thapsacus, the ford of the Bedwins, is the point most removed from the parallel of Eratosthenes, but Deïr, previously generally admitted as the Thapsacus of the ancients, is by Lieut. Murphy's observations in North latitude 35° 20′ 7″.

So late as in Spelman's time (note f. p. 167), we find Armenia spoken of as lying between the parallels of 40° and 43° of North latitude, but it must be at once self-evident, that no direct distances can

ever be made to account for the distances travelled over by the Greeks in that country, and the adjacent country of the Taochians or Georgians.

The following are the chief points which have been used in the construction of the map, for the most important of which, the observations of the astronomer Murphy, I am, as before stated, obliged to the liberality of Colonel Chesney.

	N. Lat.	E. Long.	Observers.
	° ′ ″	° ′ ″	
Chonos	37 48 0	.....	W. J. Hamilton.
Deenaïr	38 3 0	.....	do.
'Isháklí	38 17 45	.....	do.
Kóniyah	37 50 30	.....	do.
Tarsus	36 54 5	.....	Murphy.
———	36 46 30	34 46 45	Gauttier.
Iskenderún	36 35 19	36 7 45	Murphy.
———	36 35 27	36 10 0	Conn. des Tems.
Port William (near Bíreh jik)	37 0 38	37 58 15	Murphy.
Ba'lis	36 1 21	38 7 10	do.
Rakkah	35 55 35	39 3 58	do.
Deïr	35 20 7	40 11 30	do.
Werdi or Irzah	34 29 4	40 59 15	do.
'Anáh	34 27 27	41 58 46	do.
Haddisa	34 7 40	42 26 28	do.
Jubbah	33 54 37	42 34 18	do.
Hít	33 38 8	42 52 15	do.
Felújah	33 21 9	43 48 22	do.
Hillah	32 28 35	44 48 40	do.
Baghdád	33 19 40	44 45 45	Rich.
'Adhem	34 0 38	.....	Lynch.
Síd̀d Nimrúd	34 3 30	.....	do.
Mósul	36 19 30	43 10 0	do.
———	36 21 0	43 12 45	Jaubert.
———	36 21 0	.....	Ainsworth.
Súlub	36 52 5	.....	do.
Tel Kóbbin	37 14 10	.....	do.
Fénik	37 27 35	.....	do.
Chelék	37 41 5	.....	do.
Se'rt	38 2 40	41 34 7	do.
Betlís	38 23 54	42 4 45	Glascott.
——	38 24 5	——	Ainsworth.

	N. Lat.	E. Long.	Observers.
Músh	38° 40′ 30″	41° 29′ 30″	Glascott.
——	38 45 40	.....	Ainsworth.
'Arúz (Khanús district)	39 17 40	.....	do.
Khanús	39 21 42	.....	Glascott.
Bíngöl-sú	39 37 30	.....	Ainsworth.
Upland	39 44 50	.....	do.
Tsarskie (Taochir)	41 27 57.7	.....	Struve.
Tiflis	41 41 4.0	44 50 39	do.
Gumri	40 46 57.6	43 46 54	do.
Kars	40 37 1.7	43 9 2	do.
Ḥasan Kal'eh	39 58 47.4	....	do.
Ḥrż-Rúm	39 55 16.1	41 18 31	do.
(Vice-consulate)	39 55 20	41 18 30	Glascott.
Baïbúrt	40 15 36.5	40 8 48	Struve.
Gúmísh Kháná	40 25 30	.....	W. J. Hamilton.

Strabo makes the distance between Thapsacus and Babylon, following the course of the river Euphrates, 4300 stadia, or 480 G. miles. The distance according to Xenophon is equal to 633 G. miles, and it is by the river itself, as ascertained by the course of the steamer *Euphrates*, 657 G. miles. There is a considerable discrepancy here, which Forster has endeavoured to do away with, by supposing that the distances on this part of the route, as given by Xenophon, were marked out by fancy, and impressed by fatigue and suffering; but as in other cases the historian's statements are borne out by the experience of actual exploration, and the difference between his statement and that of the Amasiyan geographer, depend upon the travellers in Strabo's time shortening the distance by following in part the great Palmyrean road, and the right bank of the river, by which they were enabled to make many abbreviations. The relations of the distances given by Xenophon, and those obtained by the Euphrates Expedition, are as follows.

By *Euphrates* steamer.	Geo. Miles.	By Xenophon.	Geo. Miles.
Ford of 'Anézeh to the Khábúr	174	Thapsacus to Araxes	150
Khábúr to Irzah	110	Araxes to Corsote	105
Irzah to Hít	194	Corsote to Pylæ	270
Hít to Felújah	84	Pylæ to Cunaxa	72
Felújah to Babylon	94	Cunaxa to Babylon	36
	657		633

making a difference of about 24 G. miles in favour of the land-route over the river-route. And the comparisons thus instituted would produce results slightly different from what we have admitted, but we have endeavoured to appreciate the amount of error in each portion of the journey, in obtaining our comparisons, and not in the gross amount, which would bring all the errors to culminate upon one point, when it is evident that they must be distributed throughout the whole. The coincidence of distance between the Araxes and Corsote, and the Khábúr and Irzah, is remarkable; and if we take the distances given from Corsote to Pylæ, they would place the gates at 8 miles north of Felújah, leaving 102 miles (8 to Felújah + 94 to Babylon) to Babylon, while, according to the distances given by Xenophon, it would be 108 miles from the Pylæ to Babylon, a difference of only 6 miles upon upwards of 100, but which we have entirely done away with, by putting the error to the account of the journey from Corsote to Pylæ, which at fourteen miles north of Felújah would be by river 264 miles from Corsote, instead of 270, as given by Xenophon.

No. II.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE DATES OF THE PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS.

FROM MAJOR RENNELL.

Halts.	Days.		
		As they left Ephesus seven months before the battle, their departure may be reckoned to be about the	7 Feb. B.C. 401.
		Left Sardis about	6 March.
	20.	Arrive at Celænæ	20 ——
	5.	—— Caystrus	1 May.
	20.	—— Tarsus	6 June.
	7.	—— Myriandrus	6 July.
	5.	Ford the Euphrates at Thapsacus	5 August.
		At the Pylæ	1 September.
		Battle of Cunaxa	7 ——
	26.	Arrive at the Truce villages	10 ——
		At Sitace	11 October.
	3.	Massacre at the Zabatus	29 ——
		Ascend the Karduchian Mountains	20 November.
		First snow in Armenia	6 December.
		Crossed the Eastern Euphrates	13 ——
	8.	Arrive at the villages of refreshment	18 ——
		—— the Harpasus river	19 Jan. B.C. 400.
	30.	—— Trebizond	13 February.
	45.	—— Cotyora	13 April.
		—— Heraclea	1 July.
		—— Chrysopolis	7 August.
		Join Seuthes	5 December.
		—— Thimbron	5 Mar. B.C. 399.

No. III.

INDEX AND COMPARATIVE TABLE

TO THE

EXPEDITION OF CYRUS,

AND THE

RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Sardes or Sardis.	Sârt.				Herodotus, i. c. 101. Polybius, v. c. 77. Strabo, xiii. p. 430. Cicero de Senectute, c. 17. Livius, 37, c. 24. Horatius, i. Epist. 2. Ovidius, vi. Metamorph. 137. Plinius, v. c. 29. Cellarius, p. 125. Rennell's Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus, &c. p. 19. W. J. Hamilton, Researches in Asia Minor, &c. vol. i. p. 144; vol. ii. p. 378. Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, p. 8, &c.
River Mæander.	Mendérch-sû.	3	22	66	Herodotus, vii. c. 26. Livius, 38. c. 13. Ovidius, 8. Meta. v. 162. Seneca, Hercule Furente, v. 683. Maximus Tyrius, Dissertat. 38. Cellarius, pp. 83. 158. Rennell, p. 21. Hamilton (Op. cit.), vol. i. pp. 113, 124, 496, 525; vol. ii. pp. 161, 366. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 6, 13, &c.
Colossæ.	Chonos.	1	8	24	Herodotus, vii. c. 30. Strabo, lib. 12. Quintus Curtius, 3. c. 1. Plinius, 2. c. 103. Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians. Salmasius in Solin, p. 562. Carolus de S. Paulo Geo. Sac. p. 241. Curopalates (Excerpta ex Breviano Hist. J. Scylitzæ Curopalatæ, in G. Cedreni Compend. Historiarum, vol. ii. p. 834. Parisiis, 1647.) Cellarius, p. 152. Rennell, p. 21. Arundel, Seven Churches of Asia Minor, p. 92. Hamilton, vol. i. p. 508; vol. ii. p. 58. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 13, 17, 18, &c.
Celænæ.	Deenaïr.	3	20	60	Herodotus, vii. c. 26. Strabo, xii. p. 578. Livius, 38. c. 13. Plinius, v. c. 29. Tacitus, xii. c. 58. Arrianus, i. c. 29. Maximus Tyrius, Diss. 38. Salmasius in Solin, p. 587. Cellarius, p. 157. Rennell, p. 23. Leake, Tour in Asia Minor, p. 156. Cramer's Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 50. Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 499, 505; vol. ii. p. 366. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 18, 19, 20, 21.
Keramon Agora.	Market of the Kramians.				Livius, 37. c. 56. Plinius, v. 32. Rennell, p. 28. Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 203. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 26.
Plain of Caystrus.	Sürmeneh.	3	30	90	Rennell, p. 31. Leake (Op. cit.), p. 60. Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 203. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 26, 27.
Thymbrium.	'Ishâkli.	2	10	30	Plinius, v. c. 7. Rennell, p. 34. Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 201. Ainsworth, Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, &c. vol. ii. p. 63. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 29, 33.

Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
Tyriæum.	'Arkût Khân.	2	10	30	Plinius, v. c. 27. Anna Comnena, xv. c. 7. 13. Rennell, p. 26. Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 200. Ainsworth, vol. ii. p. 64. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 29, 33, 37.
Iconium.	Kônyah.	3	20	60	Strabo. Cicero, Epist. ad Attic. Plinius, &c. in Cellarius, p. 201. Ptolemæus, v. c. 6. Acts of the Apostles, xiii. 51; xiv. 1. Historia Apostolorum, c. 14, p. 1. Rennell, pp. 26, 34. Hamilton, vol. ii. pp. 196, 200. Cramer, (Op. cit.), vol. ii. p. 65. Ainsworth, vol. ii. p. 65. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 27, 35, 38.
Lower Pass through Taurus.	Pass of 'Alân Bûzûk.	5	30	90	Rennell, p. 37. Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 322. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 40.
Dana (Tyana).	Kîz Hisâr.	4	25	75	Strabo, 12. p. 370. Ovidius, 8 Meta. v. 721. Ammianus Marcellinus, 23. c. 6, and c. 19. Flavius Vopiscus, c. 22 and 23. Sozomenus, 6. c. 12. Philostratus vita Apollon. 1. c. 6. Pseudo-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. p. 163. Cellarius, p. 344. Rennell, p. 37. Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 200 and 300. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, p. 242 and 330. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 40, 43.
Cilician Gates.	Gölék Bôghâz.				Callisthenes in Polybii fragmentis, 12. c. 3. Strabo, xii. p. 370. Cicero, 5. ad Attic. Epist. 20. Plinius, v. c. 27. Arrianus, 2. Quintus Curtius, 3. c. 4. Cellarius, p. 262. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 71, et seq.; also Notes on the Comparative Geography of the Cilician and Syrian Gates; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. viii. part 2. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 40, 52.
Tarsus.	Tarsus.	4	25	75	Strabo, xiv. p. 463. &c. Cicero, 5. ad Attic. Epist. 20. Avienus (in Poetæ Latini Minores of Wernsdorf), vers. 1031. Lucanus, iii. vers. 225. Plinius, 5. c. 27. Arrian. 2. p. 89. Acts of the Apostles, xxi. 39; xxii. 3, &c. Pomponius Mela, 1. c. 13. Solinus, c. 38. Dio Cassius, xlvii. p. 342. Quintus Curtius, 3. c. 5. Albertus Aquensis, 3. c. 14. Cellarius, p. 252. Rennell, p. 44. Ainsworth, vol. ii. p. 83. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 40, 45, 47, 49.
Pharus (Sarus.)	Seïhûn.	2	10	30	Strabo, xii. p. 369. Livius, 33. c. 41. Plinius, 6. c. 3. Appianus Alexandrinus, Syriacis, p. 144. edit. Toll. Zonaras in Nicephoro Phocâ, p. 161. Cedrenus, p. 540. edit. Basil. Cellarius, p. 244. Rennell, p. 43. Ainsworth, vol. i. p. 235; vol. ii. p. 87. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 45, 46, 51, 56.
Pyramus.	Jeïhûn.	1	5	15	Strabo, xiv. pp. 464, 465. Plinius, v. c. 27. Arrianus, ii. p. 92. Quintus Curtius, 3. c. 4. and 7. Mela Pomponius, 1. c. 13. Procopius de Ædificiis, 5. c. 5. Jehân Numâ, p. 602. Otter, 'Voyages,' vol. i. p. 71. Rennell, p. 43. Ainsworth, vol. ii. p. 88. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 46, 52.
Issus.	On the Déli Chaï.				Diodorus Siculus, 17. c. 32. Strabo, xiv. p. 465. Plinius, v. c. 27. Plutarch, vitâ Alexandri, p. 675. Ptolemy, 5. c. 15. Arrianus, xi. pp. 94, 95. Quintus Curtius, 3. c. 8. Cellarius, p. 249. Rennell, p. 48. Ainsworth, vol. ii. p. 91. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 48, 53.

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Gates of Cilicia and Syria.	Merkez.	1	5	15	Strabo, xiv. p. 465. Plin. v. c. 27. Ptolemy, 5. c. 8. Arrian. ii. p. 95. Quintus Curtius, 3. c. 8. Cellar. p. 248. Pocock's Travels, vol. ii. p. 176. Mecca Itinerary. Recueil de la Société de Géog. tom. ii. p. 103. Ainsworth, vol. ii. p. 92. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 53, 57, 58.
Myriandrus.	Half-way between 'Arsûs (Rhosus) and Iskenderûn (Alexandria ad Issum.)	1	5	15	Strabo, xiv. p. 465. Plin. 11. c. 106. Arrian. 11. Agatheremes, 1. c. 4. Cellarius, p. 409. Volney's Travels, ii. 27. Drummond's Travels, p. 205. Rennell, p. 57. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 56, 60, 65.
River Chalus.	Châlib or Koweïk.	4	20	60	Rauwolf's Travels, by J. Ray, part 1, c. 8. Forster's Dissertation in Spelman's Xenophon, p. 206. D'Anville's L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 20. Rennell, pp. 65, 300. General Statement of the Labours of the Euphrates Expedition, by Col. Chesney and W. F. Ainsworth. Parliamentary Papers, and Journ. of Royal Geo. Soc. vol. vii. part 2. Ainsworth, vol. ii. p. 99; Researches in Assyria, &c. p. 295. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 63, 66.
Daradax.	Ba'lis?	5	30	90	Cellarius, pp. 19, 20. 'Abu-'l-fedâ Tabulæ Syriæ, pp. 65, 130. Philosophical Transactions, 1695. D'Anville (Op. cit.), pp. 19, 20. Rennell, p. 67. Ainsworth's Researches, &c. pp. 62, 64. Col. Chesney's El Bâb or Tâlliff (same as Fountain of Fay) on river Dhahab. MSS. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 65, 66, 69, 71, 78.
Thapsacus.	Ford of the 'Anezeh or Bedwins.	3	15	45	1 Kings iv. 24. Strabo, xvi. p. 513. Plinius, 5. c. 24, 26. Arrianus, i. p. 116, and iii. p. 168. Cellarius, pp. 437, 696. Bochart, Phaleg. 66. D'Anville, pp. 17, 23, 51. Rennell, p. 61. Bell's Geography, vol. iv. p. 174. General Statement, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. vii. p. 425. Ainsworth, Researches, &c. p. 67. Fraser's Assyria, &c. pp. 21, 181. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 69, 73.
Araxes (Habor.) (Khaboras.)	Khâbûr.	9	50	150	2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11. 1 Chron. v. 26. Isai. x. 9. Jer. xlvi. 2. Ezek. i. 1. Strabo, 16. p. 514. Zozimus, 3. c. 12. Ammianus Marcellinus, 23. c. 11. Procopius, Belli Persici, 11. c. 5; de Ædificiis, 1. c. 6. Sextus Rufus, c. 22. Eutropius, 9. c. 2. Dion Cassius, edit. Reimar Hamb. c. 26. Isidore of Charax, Hudson Geograph. Minores, p. 4. Joannes Antiochenus (Malala) in Juliano, p. 17. Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, p. 62. Bochart, Phaleg. p. 289. Cellarius, pp. 716—726. D'Anville, p. 42. General Statement, &c. p. 426. Ainsworth, Researches, &c. p. 73; Travels, &c. p. 261. Forbes' Visit to the Singar Hills; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. ix. p. 409. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 70, 74, 75, 79.
Corsote.	Irzah, Erzi, or Werdi.	5	35	105	Book of Ezra. D'Anville, p. 63. Bochart, Phaleg. p. 87. Rennell, p. 103. General Statement, &c. p. 427. Note of Rev. Mr. Renouard to ditto. Ainsworth, Researches, p. 77. Loss of the Tigris, with Notes, by H. Richardson, 2 cantos, 1840. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 78—81.
Pylæ.	4 miles N.W. of Sifeirah.	13	90	270	D'Anville, p. 63. Rennell, p. 83. Ainsworth, Researches, &c. pp. 112, 173. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 80, 81, 87, 88.

Places.	Identifications.	Marches.	Parasangs.	Geo. Miles.	References and Authorities.
					Sifeïrah, ancient Sipphara. Eusebius Præparat. Evangel. ix. c. 41. Cellarius, pp. 718, 719. Bochart, Phaleg. 25. 'City of Books.' Note on a part of the River Tigris; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, (Capt. Lynch), vol. ix. p. 471. Fraser, p. 186. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 82, 93, 108, 117.
Midnight Review.	36 miles S. of Pylæ. 32 miles S. of Felújah.	3	12	36	
Trench.	Nahr Melik, 'Royal River.'	4	14	44	Herodotus; Clio, exciii. Polybius, v. 21, 25. Zozimus, iii. c. 24. Ptolemy, v. c. 17. Plinius, 6. c. 26. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24. c. 2. (Grut. c. 5.) lib. 24. c. 5. (Vales. c. 2.) lib. 24. c. 21. (Vales. c. 6.) Lindenbrog, pp. 296, 299. Abydenus apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. ix. c. 41. Cellarius, p. 741. D'Anville, p. 118. Bochart, Phaleg. pp. 38, 39. General Statement, &c. p. 428. Ainsworth, Researches, &c. p. 119; ditto in Bulletin de la Société de Géograph. de Paris, tom. ix. No. 49. Fraser's Assyria, pp. 32, 210. Travels in the Track, pp. 88, 90, 91, 107.
Station beyond Trench.	4½ miles S. of the Nahr Melik.	½	1½	4½	Travels in the Track, &c. p. 88.
Cunaxa.	'Imséy'ah, 36 miles N. of Babylon.	3	9	27	Plutarch in Life of Artaxerxes. Note to Spelm. Xen. p. 63. D'Anville, p. 69. Rennell, p. 93. Fraser, pp. 18, 33, 182, 186. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 81, 87.
To Village and Tel.		1	2	6	Travels in the Track, &c. p. 97.
Return to camp.			2	6	
By river to camp of Ariæus.	Plain of Babylonia.	1	4	12	Travels in the Track, &c. p. 103.
First Villages.	On the Nahr Melik.	1	5	15	Travels in the Track, &c. p. 104.
Second Villages.	Plain of Babylonia.	1	5	15	Travels in the Track, &c. p. 105.
Wall of Media.	Khalú, or Sidd Nimrúd.	3	12	36	D'Anville, Euphrate et Tigre, pp. 99, 100. Ainsworth, Researches, &c. pp. 113, 173. Ross, Notes of two Journeys from Baghdad to Al Hadhr. Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. ix. p. 446. Lynch, Notes, &c. Journ. of Royal Geog. Soc. ix. 473, 474. Fraser, p. 157. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 87, 88, 107, 108, 109, 116.
Sitace.	'Akbará.	2	8	24	Strabo, xv. p. 503; xvi. p. 512. Plin. 6. c. 26, 27. Cellarius, p. 773. Bochart, Phaleg. p. 270. D'Anville, p. 100. Rennell, p. 82. Ross, Notes, &c. Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. ix. p. 444. ('Akbará), p. 460. (Sheri' at el Beïdhá). Ainsworth, Researches, &c. p. 174. Fraser, pp. 158, 186. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 110, 111.
Opis.	Eski Baghdád, on the Katúr, or Nahr-Wán.	4	20	60	Herodotus, i. c. 189. Strabo, xvi. p. 509. Cellarius, p. 757. D'Anville, pp. 98, 99. Rennell, p. 126. Lynch, Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. ix. pp. 472, 475. Ross, Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. ix. p. 448; vol. xi. pp. 125, 129. Fraser, pp. 156, 187. Rawlinson, Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. x. pp. 93—97. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 115, 116.

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Villages of Parysatis.	Neighbourhood of Tel Kunús.	6	30	90	Lynch's Map of Tigris; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. ix. part 3. Tel Geloos of Rich's Map, Travels, &c. vol. i. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 117.
Cœnæ.	Sénn.	1	6	18	Strabo, xvi. p. 515. Cellarius, p. 737. Bochart, Phaleg. 210. D'Anville, p. 91. Lynch, Map of Tigris; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. ix. part 3. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 118, 119, 120.
Zabatus.	Záb 'Alá.	4	14	42	Plinius, 6. c. 26. Ammianus, 23, c. 20. (Vales. vi.) Bochart, Phaleg. p. 276. Ainsworth, Travels, vol. ii. p. 326. Fraser, pp. 30, 241. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 118, 119.
Ford on the Zabatus.	Kélék Gópár.			5	Lynch's Map, (ut ante.) Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 119, 134.
Villages.	25 stadia.			2½	Travels in the Track, &c. p. 135.
Larissa.	Nimrúd (Resen.)			10	Gen. x. 12. Bochart, Phaleg. p. 291. Cellarius, p. 767. Rich's Residence in Kurdistan, &c. vol. ii. General Statement, p. 437. Ainsworth, Researches, &c. p. 257; Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 144. Fraser, pp. 168, 172, 190. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 137, 138.
Castle.	Yárumjah.	1	6	18	Rich's Residence, &c. vol. ii. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 144. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 139.
Mes-Pylæ.	Mósul (Nineveh.)				Gen. x. 11. Book of Jonah. Nahum. Herodotus, i. c. 193. Diodorus Siculus, 11, c. 3; 18. c. 590. Strabo, 16. Plinius, vi. c. 13. Tacitus, 12. c. 13. Philostratus, 1. c. 13, 14. Ammianus, 23. c. 20. (Vales. vi.) and 18. c. 16. (Vales. vii.) Cellarius, 769. Bochart, Phaleg. p. 260. D'Anville, p. 88. Rennell, p. 147. Rich's Residence, &c. vol. ii. Ainsworth's Researches, p. 257; Travels, vol. ii. p. 137. Fraser, pp. 163, 168, &c. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 139—141.
Villages.	Tel Keïf, or Kif.	1	4	12	Rev. Mr. Southgate, Narrative of a Tour, &c. vol. ii. p. 222. Rich's Residence, &c. vol. ii. Fraser, p. 177. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 137. Renouard, Note to Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. xi. p. 150. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 141.
Palace.	Zákhú.	5		60	Strabo, p. 745. (Capital of the Saccopedes?) Rennell, p. 151. Ainsworth, Researches, p. 265; Travels, &c. ii. 330. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 143, 144.
March on plain to village.		1		6	
March of 60 stadia at night.	Tel Kobbin.	1		6	Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 342. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 146.
March on plain.	Plain of the Khábúr. Field of the Romans of Procopius.	2		18	D'Anville, p. 87. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. p. 342. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 146.
Villages on the Tigris.	Mánsúriyeh, &c. opposite Jezireh ibn 'Omár.	1		8	Hieronymus Chron. Anno xi. Constantii. Cellarius, p. 735. D'Anville, p. 96. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 345. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 148.
Army turns eastward.	Vale of Mar Yuhannah.			}	Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 346. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 149.
Return by night to foot of mountain.	Entrance to Pass of Fenik.			}	

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Villages of Karduchians.	Fênik [Phœnica.]	1		7	Ammianus Marcellinus, xx. c. xv. &c. c. xviii. D'Anville, p. 85. Rich's Narr. i. Appendix, p. 375. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 347. Travels in the Track, pp. 155, 156.
Pass where slaves were dismissed.	Pass of Zâwiyah.	1		8	Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 350. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 157.
March through defiles to encampment before Pass of Tigris.	Pass of Kônâkû to between Finduk and Kûwârro.	1		7	Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 352. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 157.
Valley at foot of eminence.	Valley with rivulet commanded by a now ruinous fort.	1		3	Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. pp. 355, 356. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 160, 161, et seqq.
First Hill. Second Hill. Third Hill.	On approach to above by hills to the right or eastward.				
Villages.	Villages in Pass South of Kelek.			5	Col. Sheil, Notes, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. viii. part 1. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 354. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 164.
Villages above the Centrites.	Villages near the junction of the Buhtân Chaï and the Tigris.	1		10	Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 355. Travels in the Track, &c. pp. 165, 166.
Descent to Bank of Centrites.	Pass of Jânimînyah.				Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 356. Travels in the Track, &c p. 169.
4 stadia to Ford of Centrites.	Buhtân Chaï.				D'Anville, p. 85. Rennell, p. 201. Col. Sheil, Notes, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geog. Soc. vol. viii. part 1. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. p. 339. Trav. in the Track, &c. p. 169.
Palace of Satrap.	Se'rt.	1	5	15	D'Anville, p. 84. Rennell, p. 201. Bell's Geog. iv. 160. Col. Sheil, Notes, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. viii. part 1. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 357. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 171.
To above head of Tigris.	'Alî Tâgh. (Niphates.)	2	10	30	Strabo, xi. pp. 359, 364. Virgil Georg. iii. v. 30. Plinius, vi. c. 27. Pomp. Mela, iii. c. 8. Lucanus, iii. v. 245. Cellarius, p. 379. D'Anville, pp. 78, 84. Brant, Notes of a Journ. &c.; Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. x. part 3. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 359. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 171.
River Teleboas.	Kârâ-sû, in district of Mûsh, ancient Motene, or Moxene.	3	15	45	Plinius, (Otene), vi. c. 13. Bochart, Phaleg. p. 91. (Land of Hul). Cellarius, p. 385. D'Anville, p. 75. Rennell, p. 207. Bell's Geog. iv. p. 140. Brant, Notes, &c.; Journ. of Royal Geog. Soc. vol. x. part 3. Ainsworth, Travels, ii. 376, 378. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 172.
Palace.	Pêrak, or Lis.				Travels in the Track, &c. p. 173.
Remove to villages	Ditto.				Travels in the Track, &c. p. 173.
Pass in Mountains.	Offset of Nimrûd Tâgh.				Travels in the Track, &c. p. 175.
Ford of Euphrates.	Malasgherd on Murâd-sû (Mauro-castrum.)				Bell's Geog. vol. iv. p. 152. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 176.
Villages, Palace 3 miles off.	Khanûs Kal'eh-si.	3 1	15 4	45 12	Diodorus Siculus, 14. c. 29. (Chaoi in Chaonitis). Rennell, p. 6. Ainsworth, Travels, &c. vol. ii. p. 386. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 177.

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Abandoned by their guide.	Uplands of Armenia.	3	15	45	Travels in the Track, &c. p. 179.
River Phasis.	Pasin Chaï, tributary to the Arás, or Araxes, anc. Phisun.	7	35	105	Herodotus, i. c. 202. Strabo, xi. p. 363. Plutarch, Life of Pompey, p. 634. Plinius, 6. c. 9. Appianus (Mithridates), p. 401. Cellarius, p. 376. D'Anville, Geo. Anc. vol. ii. p. 100. Rennell, p. 227. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 179.
Passage of Mountains.	Kapán Tágh (Coraxius, or Coraxicus).	2	10	30	Plinius, vi. c. 9. Cellarius, p. 381. Bell's Geog. vol. iv. p. 143. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 181.
Fort of Taochians.	Tzalka, or Tzarskie Kolodzi.	5	30	90	D'Anville, Geog. Anc. tom. ii. p. 101. Forster's Dissertation, &c. p. 237. Struve, Astronomical Positions, &c. Journ. of Royal Geog. Society, vol. viii. part 3. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 182.
Country of the Chalybes.					Herodotus, i. c. 28. Apollonius, 11. vers. 375. Scholiastes in ditto, v. 1003. Strabo, xii. p. 378. Virgilius Georg. 1. v. 58. Valer. Flaccus. 5. v. 141. Plinius, 6. c. 4. Pomp. Mela, i. c. 19. Cellarius, p. 334. Bochart, Phaleg. 206. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 183.
River Harpasus.	Arpá Chaï.	7	50	150	Rennell, p. 225. Bell's Geog. iv. p. 143. W. J. Hamilton, Travels, &c. vol. i. p. 197. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 184.
Villages in country of Scythians, or Scythinians.	Village head of Kárs river.	4	20	60	Cellarius, p. 384. Rennell, p. 243. Travels in the Track, &c. p. 185.
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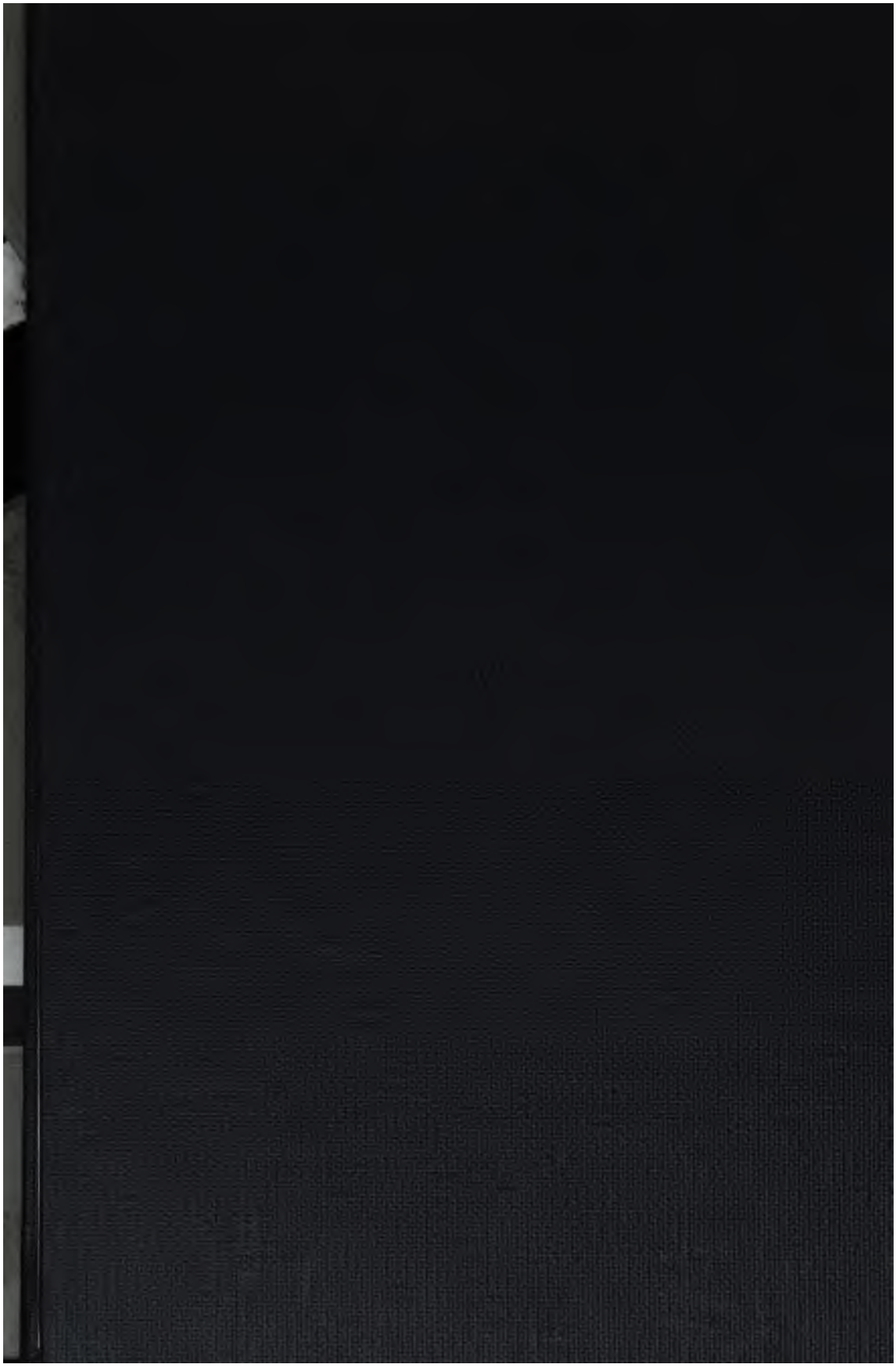
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